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AND

THE PHLEGRAEAN FIELDS

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CUMAE

AND

THE PHLEGRAEAN FIELDS

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THE PHLEGRAEAN FIELDS

BY

G. CONSOLI FIEGO

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

ALMA REED

NAPLES

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TRANSLATOR'S FOREWORD

This monograph is the first presentation in any language of the history, traditions and legends of Cumae in the light of modern archaeological research. Within that scope, the author has a two-fold purpose. Aiming primarily first to serve those visitors to the famous ruined site who would prepare themselves for a truly enriching experience, Dr. Consoli's work should prove no less useful to students of Italian archaeology and Greek culture. To this far larger group it offers, at least, a background for understanding interest in the excavations of the Campi Flegrei and a gauge by which to measure the value of inevitable discoveries there.

Like some leaf-inscribed oracle, tossed by the winds in the springtide of the race, the name of Cumae flits illusively through the history and literature of the ancient world. Yet even the school boy who grudgingly

cons his Virgil or digs for the roots of Roman Empire in the legends of the Tarquins, can hardly be insensible to the potency of that name in the destiny of Western civilization. A comprehensive analysis of the attainment and loss of Cumae's singular position, together with a coordination of the established facts and those obscure half-mystical vestiges of her story, will doubtless occupy the historian of the future. But until the fruition of such an undertaking, the layman has need of a simple framework upon which to hang archaeological "finds" — the scholar, of a sturdy warp whereon to weave the missing patterns supplied by the excavator's spade.

As librarian of the National Museum of Naples, where the bulk of the Cumaean treasure is housed, Dr. Consoli is intimately associated with all that pertains to the vanished splendor of the Campi Flegrei. But the marvels and memories of the scene of his labors hold for him a deeper claim than that of scientific interest. Southern Italy is the land of his birth

and heritage, — a fact that will explain a touch of patriotic pride in the Italian manuscript. The translation attempts to preserve this sympathetic personal note in an occasional possessive pronoun that refers to surviving beauties or former glories of a beloved "patria". It may be traced also, in the use of the Greek *Kyme*, the proud name borne by the city as the mother colony of Magna Graecia centuries before she languished as *Cumae* beneath the Roman yoke, or sank to tragic effacement in the scattered heaps of broken stone now known as *Cuma*.

For the most part, Greek nomeclature has been retained throughout the book. The chief exceptions occur where the Greek form would render identification unnecessarily difficult, or where, the Latin name has been used by an authority whose opinion is being quoted or discussed.

ALMA REED.

Naples, December 1926.

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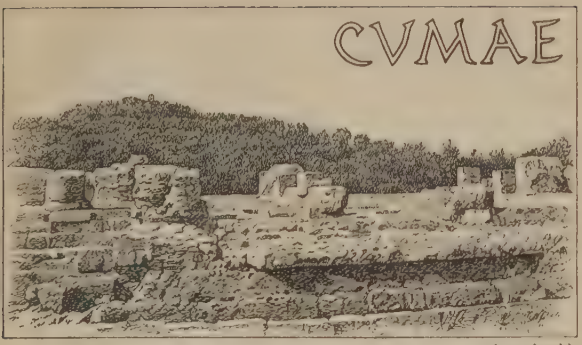
CVMAE



(pen sketch)

Ruins of the Roman Temple of Apollo.
The Hill of Cuma in the background.

KYME (Cumae) is one of the principal storehouses of historical record of Greek civilization in the West. Consequently, in all parts of the world, academies and universities, scientists and artists are urging a more thoroughgoing excavation of the ancient city and research that will throw new light on the obscure origin of classic culture in Italy and in Greece. To this end, they would attempt to solve the problems connected with its topography, history and religion; finding what remains of its fortifications, identifying boundaries, isolating temples, studying construction and penetrating the cave of the sibyl.

Such a program was strongly advocated by the Royal Academy of Naples in 1902, and I am pleased to state, that while this book is being written, Prof. A. Maiuri, Superintendent of Antiquities of the Campanian district, is systematically exploring the mysterious cavern in the depths of which resounded the voice that exercised so potent an influence on the destinies of men.

Prof. Maiuri's excavations may be regarded as the first undertaken by the state, if we except those begun by Minister Gianturco in 1896, and those conducted by Gabrici in 1910 for the brief period of a few weeks. I am not prepared at this time to discuss the other important government excavations carried on by Spinazzola in the last decade, since the results are not yet known.

The Cumaean soil, however, has been rummaged since the days of the Samnites and the Romans, as we shall see in the course of this work. But here, I shall give only a summary review of the more notable and relatively recent discoveries, commencing with those of 1601 on the Spinelli property. The Viceroy, Don Alfonse Pimentel, desired to have some statues to adorn his museum, already rich in antique monuments. The architect, Domenico Fontana, who was royal engineer, and Capaccio, the historian, were in charge of the ex-

amination of the land. The excavations yielded good results. The first discovery was an ancient lesche, *or enclosed terrace of ample dimensions, which, from an inscription, was betieved to be part of the villa of Augustus. On one side were two doors and it was supposed that two others opened on the opposite side. In various niches, a number of statues were found.*

The Viceroy was satisfied, but not so the Archbishop Ottavio Acquaviva, because the "find" had occured on Church property. He therefore threatened to excommunicate anyone who continued the excavations. The Duke of Benavente had the statues carried to the vice-regal palace, but the Viceroy did not have the courage to take them with him to Spain. Count Lemos then decided to install them in the palace of the Nuovi Studi, the present National Museum of Naples. But he inopportunely had them restored, so that an empress became a symbol of eternity; a Minerva of wisdom; a female figure, the reward of virtue; and a consul was made to represent education. The works thus deformed, were afterwards removed from the great edifice destined to house so many treasures of antiquity. Nothing more is known of any of them with the exception of two marble discs that remained. Their bas-reliefs were said to be

images of Agrippa and of his son; according to Gabrici, two persons of the Satria family.

A catalogue of the viceroy's collection contains the following statues: Herakles leaning on a club; a long-haired Apollo with a swan at his feet; a nude figure of Castor, capped; Neptune with a blue-colored beard; Vesta, Asklepius, Saturn, Priapus, Diadumenus and many portrait marbles, among them, a colossal Octavius Augustus, an armed Drusus, and two statues of consuls.

Two bas-reliefs representing triremes were found in 1761 and later placed in the National Museum of Naples. In 1809 was discovered a tomb remarkable for its stuccos, — a "Danse Macabre" — unfortunatly reduced to fragments by the superstition of the peasants. Other interesting objects were obtained in 1829 through an excavation on behalf of the Duke of Blacas; in 1842 the excavations of Correale yielded among numerous treasures, two very beautiful vases (Eos — Aurora and Kephalos, and Triptolemus) now in the National Library at Paris. In the same year, Santangelo began the excavations which gave rise to his splendid collection, the greater part of which has been deposited in the Naples Museum. Casually, in 1836 were discovered among the ruins of an Egyptian temple, a statue of Anubis (National Museum

Naples) and three marble figures. Excavations by Lord Vernon in 1843 brought to light a quantity of objects, among them, the famous lekythos of Tataje (British Museum); and in 1854 excavations were undertaken by the architect, Arthur Ashpitel, who wrote a monograph on Kyme.

But the most important excavations were those conducted between 1852 and 1856 by the Count of Syracuse, a royal prince who cared more for art and archaeological studies than for politics, and those of the Cav. Emilio Stevens, between 1878 and 1896. The discoveries of Stevens furnish not only the foundation for the study of Kyme, but also for that of primitive Etruscan and other Italian civilizations and of the ancient Greek colonies. The excavations of the Count of Syracuse were described by the archaeologist Fiorelli; those of Stevens, for the most part by himself, in detailed notes of his work. Happily, these two great collections, together with that of Santangelo have been acquired by the Naples Museum where they are the subject of continuous study.

A sensation was caused by the excavations of the Count of Syracuse by reason of the singular discovery of two corpses, with heads, at first believed to be of clay, and eyes, of glass. Later they were shown to be human heads, coated with

a mineral mastic. Many conjectures have been made as to this strange custom of covering the faces of the dead with a transparent wax cement, the most probable being a method of preservation.

I am pleased to record that even H. M. Victor Emanuel III, King of Italy, whose numismatic studies are internationally known, carried on successful research at Kyme before and after he came to the throne. As is mentioned in the text, to His Majesty is due the discovery of the pre-Hellenic village with its many art and household objects, including an archaistic marble head.

With the approach of Virgil's second millenary, dawns a new era of scholarly and popular interest in Kyme: therein lies the real promise of an initiative that eventually may lift the veil from the beginnings and development of the most ancient Greek colony in Italy.

'TWIXT HISTORY AND LEGEND

Odysseus, having stopped up with wax the ears of his companions and having had himself bound to the mast of his ship, resists the song of the sirens. Scene from a Corinthian vase. *(Museum, Athens).*

I.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF LEGENDS.

FOR a long time it was regarded as a sign of great sagacity and high critical acumen to spurn tradition as a tissue of lies. Certainly, its blind acceptance would lead us far from the truth, but we can hardly afford to look upon it with suspicion or hostility. He who wishes to play the historian must gather together all the relics of the past, and without exception, all those traces of human activity that may help him reconstruct the environment of a people. Then, as a scientist, he

must submit them to a methodical and rigorous research. It is true that the legends interwoven with sacred rites and those that are palpable attempts to account for deeds and events of earlier times, are vanishing as the mist at sunrise. But, generally speaking, the legend that defies the centuries is merely a tale founded on some historical event, often with fantastic additions and changes left in the wake of the passing years.

Besides, the origins of the most ancient history have their source in poetry because the historian of antiquity found himself in a frame of mind no different from that of the bard. So it was that childish assertions did not seem to Herodotus, the father of history, unworthy of being collected. The modern concept of history, as calm and impartial investigation, has developed very slowly.

But even these poetical sources are unhappily scanty, as they perished together with the oldest literature. The first allusions to Aeneas, Misenus, and to the other heroes, are to be found in fragments of Stesichorus. The historian Timaeus on whom Diodorus Siculus drew so liberally, simply borrowed from the *Geryoneides*. It is certain at least, that from the time of the Stesichorean lays, the fame of the Theban hero spread and was perpetuated among the cities of southern Italy, notably,

in that part which was to assume the pompous name of *Megale Ellas,* or Magna Graecia.

In the Campi Flegrei, especially, where mystery and singular beauty are combined, history has become so interwoven with legend that they are practically inseparable. And with its beauty and mystery are imperishably associated the legends of the two greatest epic poems of classic antiquity—, the Homeric and the Virgilian. Greece and Rome have joined hands here, in this strange land, on whose surface open the sibyl's gloomy cavern and the entrance to the hated Avernus.

Perhaps there is no more interesting story in the whole romantic region than that of the City of Kyme, whose rock " stretches out between the shifting sands with an outline resembling that of the great Egyptian sphinx ". Her glorious name is linked with the significant social phenomenon of Greek colonization. But apart from the chronological problem into which for more than half a century, the archaeologists of the entire world have been delving, the story is fascinating because it tempts one to sound the dark recesses of the lovely Cumaean land still veiled in mystery. The persistence of mystery is due partly to the geological conformation. The visitor who tries to identify the marvellous places described by the poets, finds his

zeal taxed with hardship, all the more so, since the restlessness of nature and the vandalism and cupidity of man have somewhat altered their aspect.

To the spell that lingers in the Campi Flegrei, like a pungent forest fragrance, the Anglo-Saxon has been peculiarly sensitive. It will suffice to mention Sir William Hamilton, the diplomat of the close of the eighteenth century, who unearthed so many treasures in the Campagna Felice, and whose artistically illustrated work on the Campi Flegrei is still read with delight; Admiral Man, who sounded Lake Avernus, to which the ancient writers attributed an appalling depth; Temple, the Ambassador, an untiring collector of antiquities; the architect Ashpitel, the author of a monograph on Kyme; Lord Vernon, the fortunate discoverer of a rare lekythos; Lord Maulay, Lord Walpole, and finally Cav. Emilio Stevens, who for more than twenty years devoted himself to excavations and to the publication, though but summarily, of his discoveries. Many of the rare objects that rewarded their devotion are now in the National Museum of Naples, a rich patrimony for the artist and the archaeologist.

To these already well-known names, I feel bound to add that of Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Rajola. After having most faithfully cared for the wounded throughout the world war, she now devotes her

(Fig. 3)

"Arces, quibus altus Apollo praesidet". (Virg. *Aen VI, 9)*
Acropolis with remains of wall.
(Photo National Museum of Naples)

energies, in the fruitful hours of peace, to another noble mission, — the promotion of a more thorough knowledge of antiquity and a more cordial understanding between the peoples of the old Latin stock and the vigorous branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. Lover of Kyme, whence radiated civilization for three thousand years, she accompanies English-speaking tourists through the Campi Flegrei. There, the warmth of her enthusiasm conjures up a wealth of historical association, which responds only to the magic of sympathy and discernment. The writer of these pages has had the opportunity to observe the eager interest that such guidance kindles in American and British visitors, and in others as far removed from our history and our legends.

Slight as may be the value of this book which, borrowing from the classics, from old works now not easily found, and articles published in scientific reviews and in the reports of academies, — aims to present in a clear, concise and accessible form all that bears upon the history of Kyme, — it has at least the merit of seeing the light through the suggestion and initiative of Mrs. Rajola.

II.

THE LEGEND OF THE FOUNDATION OF KYME.

Cui mite solum trans aequora vectae
Ipse Dionea monstravit Apollo columba
Stat. *Silv. III, 5,79.*

One of the characteristics of ancient poetry was the virtual deification of the men whom it celebrated. The Greek religion imposed the worship of the founders of colonies as heroes. Art lent its charms to perpetuate public events, and the personality of a colonizer though purely historic, in time, assumed a mythical character.

The origin of Kyme, founded according to tradition, in 1049 B. C. by Greeks, is embellished with a poetical legend. The Greeks were of necessity a seafaring people, for in a land like Hellas, where the various regions were separated by high mountain ranges, the sea was always the most obvious and easiest means of commercial and social intercourse. As need compelled them, they roamed over unknown waters, at first merely marking off landing places and later establishing trading posts and colonies along the coasts of the Mediterranean. Before founding a colony the Greeks consulted an oracle. The priests attendant on the oracular shrine were continuously in

(Fig. 4)

" Euboicae cumarum orae " *(Virg. Aen. VI, 2)*
The beach on which landed the first Greek mariners.
(Photo National Museum of Naples)

contact with men who came from all parts of the earth and were in a position therefore, to form a more or less exact idea of distant places and to advise the future colonists. When the oracle had given an answer, the lists of the emigrants were made out and the citizen was nominated who was to guide them and preside over the formation of the colony. The *Oikistes*, often directly indicated by the oracle, might one day be worshipped as a hero. To the *Oikistes* were added the *Augures*. When the organization was complete, the hour of sailing was fixed and the State gave the poorer emigrants the *ephodion*, the arms and supplies for the voyage. The colonists then departed, bearing with them the sacred fire taken from the hearth of the metropolis (mother city). Jealously tended during the journey, its flame served to kindle that of the new town.

I do not know if this were the order observed in the foundation of Kyme, which was not perhaps, a colony sponsored by the State. The legend of its origin is, as we shall see, the result of a literary patchwork, to which poets of different races contributed. Tradition gives us as founders, *(Oikisti)* the Chalcidian, Megasthenes, and Hippokles, the Cumaean. Their ships, under the protection of the gods, sailed for an unknown land. It was commonly

believed that those who led colonists were enabled to steer their course through untraversed seas because by day the ships were guided by a dove and at night, were preceded by the sound of a mystic cymbal, — the cymbal of the Corybantes.

Thus too, our *Oikisti* were fabled to have been preceded by a dove sent, according to Statius, by Apollo, and at night, by the brazen notes they were wont to hear during the festival of Ceres (Velleius 1, 4.). Just as a magpie had flown before the ship *Argus,* another daring sea venture veiled in myth, so had a raven preceded the colony of Battus. Old traditions these, always present to the imaginative spirits of the ancients. When faith is lively, the direct interference of the heavenly powers surmounts all obstacles and banishes every contradiction. Similarly the Romans long believed in the she-wolf that reared the twins Romulus and Remus, while their descendants smiled at the superstition.

No doubt Apollodorus and Eratosthenes thought they had devised a very ingenious explanation when they said that Hippokles and Megasthenes sailed towards unknown shores preceded by a dove (or by a bark which bore that name?), and at night, the crew gave the signals on some instrument of bronze.

The authors themselves probably despised these

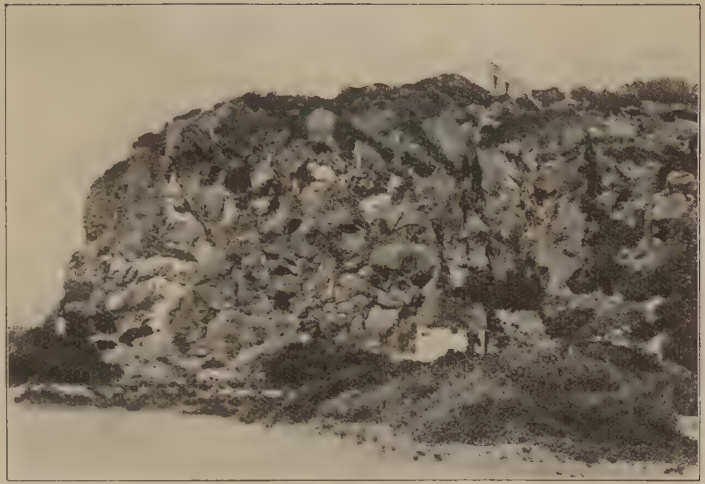
foolish tales. As to their references to chronology, (discussed in the next chapter) they must have written them with as much wonder as we feel in reading them. They well knew that the first Greek settlements on the coasts of Oenotria and Sicily were much more recent, for at the foundation dates they assign, these regions lay beyond the limits of the known world.

According to tradition, the mythical leaders, Megasthenes of Chalcis and Hippokles of Kyme, (Eubœic or Aeolic as the case may be) after quarrels due to ambition, which call to mind the strife between Romulus and Remus, decided that to whatever land fate should bear them, the one would give his name to the city and the other to the people.

The name of the city, according to others, is derived from the following legend: the Hellenes, landing with their mixed colony, are said to have seen a pregnant woman asleep on the shore, and so, to have chosen the name as an omen of fecundity (*Kuema*—foetus) and prosperity. And as the word *ḳuma* means also *wave*, some are of the opinion that the city was so designated because of the breaking of the waves against the trachyte rock on which it was planted.

Nothing is less certain than toponomy; it is impossible to prove any hypothesis in the etymology

of local names. It has even been held that a trading or naval station was established in remote times very near Capo Miseno and that it was called by foreigners, **Kyme** (in Greek, *village*), and that by derivation, traditional rather than scientific, from this word comes also **Komodia,** as comedy is believed to have arisen in villages (**Komoi**). Others believe the name came from **Komos** (banquet) with which closed all the ancient Bacchic festivals. But, after all, why forget the **Kyme,** whence the colonists started? An old derivation of the word has lately returned to favor, suggested in the eighteenth century to Italian scholars by Vargas Macciucca (*Delle antiche colonie venute in Napoli,* 1794). Seeing as he did, in all this district, indications of Phoenician names, a word occured to him that phonetically corresponds to **Kyme** and in Phoenician, means *height.* This conception of a city built on a height had already been noticed by the accurate geographer Strabo, who observed that the city was on a lofty rock to protect it from the fury of the sea. The Greek colonists came to the west with the memory of the Homeric poetry deep in their souls, and wherever a similarity of names, a myth, or some custom of the natives could give them a pretext, they were inclined to look for traces of the wanderings



(Fig. 5)

" Euboicae latus ingens rupis" *(Virg. Aen. VI, 42)*

The trachyte rock in which has been hollowed the cave of the sibyl.

(Photo National Museum of Naples)

of Odysseus. As they seemed to have come upon *Hypereia,* " the high city ", where dwelt the Phaeacians, they may have either adopted the Semitic feminine adjective **Kouma,** or translated **Hypereia** into that language.

THE LEGEND OF DAIDALOS.

Daedalus primo Sardiniam dicit
Sallustius, post delatus est Cumas.
Serv. ad *Aen. VI, 14*

The colonists brought with them not only the habits and customs, but also the mythic patrimony of their distant fatherland. With them sailed not only their arms and utensils, but also their gods and heroes, whose names were kept alive in the worship and in the traditions. And it is because of their survival that we have glimpses of the beginnings of the colony, even though they reach us wrapped in the obscurity of a remote past.

One legend conveyed to us in verse by Virgil in the sixth book of the *Aeneid,* tells us that Daidalos, the most celebrated mythical artist of antiquity, landing after his fanciful flight from Crete on the trachyte rock, consecrated to the gods the framework of his wings (were they not perchance, the sails of his ship?) and built there a " huge temple ".

Daidalos has a certain analogy with the divine

artist Hephaistos, god of the heavenly fire (flying amid the clouds) and god of earthly fire (artificer of beautiful works). The ancients were in the habit of giving each artist a name that indicated his special excellence. For instance, *Eugrammos* was a painter "skillful in drawing beautiful lines": *Eukadmos*, the author of "lovely ornaments": *Scilli*, the artist who "uses the plane": *Perdix*, the artist who "draws circles", etc. Now, in a still more ancient usage, *daidala* meant *works of art*. By *daidalos* was conveyed the idea of "the artist", the "skillful one". Space does not permit enumeration of the inventions and works ascribed to Daidalos. In general, they were all that belonged to the arts and all the works of primitive architecture and sculpture, the authors of which were unknown. Banished from Athens, his fatherland, Daidalos seems to have sought refuge in Crete, and there to have contrived wondrous works including the famous *labyrinthos* built for Minos. Whoever had the misfortune to find himself within its baffling maze of walls, was prevented by their uniformity from escaping. It now appears that this fabulous structure which took its name from the *labrys* (double ax), countlessly repeated on its walls, can be identified with the stately palace of Knossos, the remains of which, brought to light by the British

expedition headed by Evans, have for more than a quarter of a century attracted the interest of scholars. Minos was held to be a historic personage even by Thucydides and Aristotle. According to the legend, he was born from the love of Europa, a moon goddess, for Zeus, god of the heaven, in the form of a white bull. Ruling over Crete, he married Pasiphae, ("the for-all-shining", the moon) daughter of Helios, the sun. Pasiphae fell in love with a celestial bull sent by Poseidon and gave birth to Minotauros, a monstrous creature with a bull's head and a human body. To placate the monster shut up in the labyrinth Minos used to throw inside the prisoners doomed to death and the young slaves given to him as hostages from populations defeated in war. Because they had killed his son Androgeos, who went to the Pan-Athenaic games and won the prize there. Minos declared war on the Athenians, and having defeated them, laid a terrible tribute upon their city. Every nine years they were obliged to send seven girls and seven boys to Crete to be devoured by Minotauros. Twice had the Athenians paid the tribute and lots were now to be drawn for the third. Theseus asked to be of the number, resolving to fight Minotauros and risk his life to free his country from this cruel burden.

The gods willed that Ariadne, a daughter of Minos, should fall in love with the hero and give him a clew of thread, by means of which he could reach the innermost recess of the labyrinth, kill the monster, and find his way again to the entrance. Daidalos, already guilty of constructing the wooden cow in which Pasiphae enclosed herself with the heavenly bull (it is not the tale of an obscene amour, but symbolizes the Lunar Heifer that seeks the Solar Bull), was imprisoned with his son Ikaros in the labyrinth, as punishment for the aid given to Theseus in his enterprise. But he figured out a way of escaping through the air, and contriving some wings of feathers, fastened them with wax to his own body and to the body of son. But Ikaros flew too near the regions of the sun. The heat melted the wax, the wings became detached, and he fell into the sea. Daidalos, wiser and more fortunate than his son, arrived at Kyme. Here, amidst the perfume of herbs and flowers, on a hill facing the smiling sea and beneath the blue vault of the sky, he built a temple of peculiar but superb architecture. Of matchless skill in woodwork, he adorned the doors with bas-reliefs. On one side he carved the tragic Athenian episodes, amongst them, the death of Androgeos, the child-tribute, and the fatal urn from which the names

were extracted. On the other, were various episodes in the history of Crete, which was represented towering high above the sea; the impious passion of Pasiphae for the bull and the labyrinth with Theseus succeeding in his escape by means of the thread that Ariadne had obtained from Daidalos. Here too, he would have depicted the unhappy end of Ikaros, if grief had not stayed his hand. Twice he strove to carve in gold the sad story; twice the chisel fell from his hands.

We are now in the heaven of pure legend, and not even the wings of Daidalos would suffice to bring us down. But it is interesting to note that the works ascribed to Daidalos, judging from their style, are to be assigned to the thirteenth century B. C., two centuries before the traditional date of the foundation of Kyme.

III.

THE LEGEND OF HERAKLES.

Et sonat Herculeo structa labore via.
Propertius, *III, 16.*

Whatever value mythology holds for the study of ancient history, its contribution has long been more or less recognized. And while mythological narrative

should not be confounded with pure truth, it is at least worthy of serious consideration.

The philologist studies legends to fill up the gaps in broken epigraphic compositions; the historian, to push back to their sources and find a base, whence he might move forward in search of the reality. As to their origin, the legends are local or foreign. The first class is linked with the internal history of the country; the second with the external, or, the relations of one people with another. The community of a mythical tradition between two peoples or the similarity of their sacred rites aids us in establishing their historical affinity, or at least, political and commercial relations, that otherwise could be detected only with great difficulty.

With the myth of Daidalos is associated that of Herakles, the scene of whose exploits is also laid in these regions. Herakles was a great mythical figure of very early Egyptian origin who appears in Greek garb on all the shores of Magna Graecia. He was an astronomical deity and linked with the twelve signs of the zodiac. When he crossed the Sicilian Channel *(Fretum Siculum)* on the golden cup used by the sun each night to pass over the Ocean, the myth still held a solar significance, representing the daily course of the light

(Fig. 6)

Via Herculanea seen from Lake Lucrinus.

that moves from east to west. But very soon the Herakles of the familiar concept took the place of the astronomical deity. The Egypto-Phoenician myth, with the mantle of stars and the symbol of the lion, gradually disappeared to give place to the mighty hero of the twelve labors (substituted for the twelve constellations). Thus humanized and made more accessible to comprehension, Herakles was claimed, ever with new episodes, by many communities, as their own. Not to go outside southern Italy, Heracleia, near Siris, was said to have been founded by him, as well as Herculaneum (after his name had been Latinized to Hercules). Pompei, if really derived from *pompa*, would refer to the hero's travels. To him, were reared many temples, amongst them may be mentioned the one in Boalia (Bacoli), and that other on the edge of the *Forum Vulcani*. And, as the bull was the symbol of the demi-god, the ancients invented the pleasing little story of the return of Herakles from the coast of Spain, after killing Geryon, a monster like the Scylla, who held imprisoned the herd consecrated to the sun. The legend has an astronomical and pre-Hellenic origin: Geryon pastured his herd in the island of Erytheia (the reddish), signifying the western sky at sunset, where are the brightly gleaming cows (the

clouds). The solar hero takes them away from the monster of darkness, to lead them back whence they came and thus produce the following dawn.

According to the legend, Herakles, on his return from Spain, landed on these shores. There, he built the stables for the cattle he had carried away from the giant Geryon, and as he found the Lucrine Lake too exposed to the sea to permit his passing before it with the herd, he divided the lake from the sea by a dam eight stadia long. Others say that he did so to form a huge fish pond, and to this end, separated from the Tyrrhenian a portion of its water by means of a dam of great length. The dam divided, as it does today, the sea in question from the fish pond, later called, *Plutonion* (from *plutos* wealth), and by the Romans, *Lucrinus* (from *lucrum* gain).

Many classic writers have spoken of this ancient *Via Herculea* or *Herculanea*, which ran for a considerable distance from the place (fig. 6) now known as *Stufe di Nerone*, — among them Lycophron, who called it *Via del Leone*, Silius Italicus, Propertius, Cicero and Strabo. Perhaps because of the tradition, Trajan ordered a gate of the ancient Puteoli to be named *Herculea*. The tale is not without archaeological import. It is now proved that wherever legend indicates the hero's pre-

sence, there also, are to be found traces of the Phoenicians. Their own nature, and still more the character of the soil they inhabited, urged this people to roam far in search of trade, so that for a long period time they were almost undisputed lords of the seas, serving as intermediaries between the peoples of the East who had already reached a high degree of civilization, and the West, still sunk in barbarism. It is true however, that with the progress of archaeology the old theory of the great influence of the Phoenicians in the development of Mediterranean civilization has lost in credit. And it is true also that up to the present time, no vestiges of trading posts have been discovered on our shores. While certain geographical names are of Phoenician origin, these must be ascribed to a later age. Great as our wish may be to know the history of the most ancient immigrations of seafaring peoples on the coasts of Sicily and Magna Graecia, we must needs abandon investigations, which for the present, at least, lead to no satisfactory results.

IV.

THE HOMERIC PERIPLUS AND THE NEKYA.

" The voyager who finds his way into the Bay of Naples — (I am pleased to quote this passage

from Giuseppe De Lorenzo) — when passing between the roseate rocks of Capri and the dusky ridge of Ischia, sees before his eyes a vision perchance unrivalled in the whole world for beauty of outline and enchanting color. A long red and white line of solemn, massive, calcareous hills rises in Capri and at the Promontory of Minerva ascends from the resounding, foaming waves of the open sea to tower majestically in the loftiest summits of the Sorrentine Peninsula. Continued crescent-wise by the cloud-capped Apennines, with an ample curve the contour extends anew to the sea in Mount Massico and the Promontory of Circe, forming thus a kind of *cavea* with marble steps in a wonderful natural theatre. Enclosed in this great rocky semicircle, like the pit or orchestra of a theatre, lies the blooming, verdant plain of *Campania Felix*, with a background formed by the fair hills of Parthenope, mist-wreathed islands and smoke-crowned Vesuvius. Beneath is the shining sea and above, the gleaming heaven. Gazing on this vision, every soul other than vulgar, forgets for a moment its sorrows and its trials, and losing itself in pure contemplation finds peace and joy and contentment".

I have inserted this description not only for its beauty, but because, as the landscape remains unaltered, the impressions it records must surely have

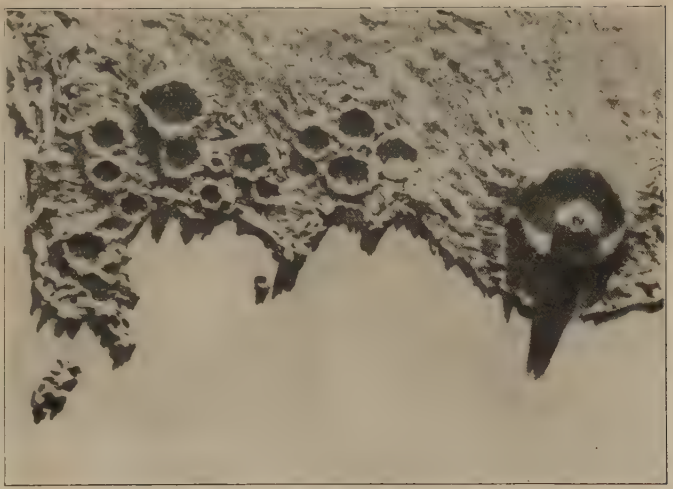
been those of the dauntless navigators when they landed here, more than a thousand years before the Christian era.

To these shores came also Odysseus, the ideal hero of the multifarious tales of the sea. The Chalcidians who had placed their penates on the Cumaean arx, early localized the Homeric songs, identifying the scenes recorded in them. Has Homer then described actual places? From the days of Polybius down to our own, volumes have been written on this theme; for history, geography and philology offer ground for many conflicting theories. In order to take a short cut to a solution, the French diplomat, M. Berard, a geographer and an authority on ancient civilizations, had recourse to a method far from ordinary among historians and scholars. He boarded a yacht and with the Odyssey in his hands wandered over the whole Mediterranean in search of the lands mentioned in the poem. And he found them, or at least believed he had found them with corresponding precision, afterwards telling the story of his periplus in two bulky volumes under the title of *Les Phéniciens et l' Odissée* (Paris 1902). Thanks then to the researches of Berard and Champault, Homeric geography is made to accord perfectly with the real. If Homer had deliberately invented places, we

should not to able to trace so many coincidences. Now this geographical identification clearly demonstrates the genesis of the myths.

One of the finest and best known episodes of the marvellous epopee is the adventure of Odysseus with Polyphemos, the gigantic creature with a single eye on his forehead, a *Kyklops*. To what strange race did the Cyclopes belong? The fable regarding them derives its origin from the volcanoes, which have a big round eye, send forth terrifying sounds, hurl to great distances enormous stones and pour out the destroying lava in all directions. Yet the personification of these phenomena was commoly held to be one with the savage cannibals, the residue of an ancient barbaric humanity.

But it is necessary that we look at mythology from a different viewpoint. The myth is a fantastic creation, starting from natural facts but transforming them; and it is precisely in this transformation that its creation consists. The supreme god Zeus (Zeus is the same as *dieus; dyans* in Sanscrit means *luminous sky*, from which come the Latin *dies* and the English *day*) personified the shining heaven; the son of Zeus and Letho (the Night) was Apollo, the radiant one, the sun. The legends respecting this god refer to the effects of light and of solar heat. Artemis or Diana is the



(Fig. 7)
The land of the Cyclopes showing the volcanoes of the flaming eye.
Seen from a height, it now suggests a lunar landscape.

moon, and her bow and arrows are the moonrays. Ares, or Mars, is probably the storm that breaks with furious, irresistible violence. His war cry (the sound of thunder) is like that of then thousand warriors. Hermes, or Mercury, is none other than the sunset; the cows stolen by him are the rays of the sun hidden by the twilight. Venus is the dawn; Hestia or Vesta (from *vas*, to shine) is the domestic hearth, the center of the family. The myth of Pallas Athena, issuing in full armor from the brain of Zeus is the stormy sky, heavy with clouds, giving birth in the midst of the tempest to the goddess of the luminous heaven, made manifest by the sudden lightning-flash. The goddess is called *glaucopis* (from *glauko*, to shine, and *ops*, eye), or, "with flashing eyes". The adjectives too, allude to natural phenomena: Hera, the great female divinity, is called *leukolemnos* (with the white arms), and *boopis* (the ox-eyed). Here, the adjectives must refer to the clouds, by the Aryans described as the "cows with full udders", that give to the earth the heavenly milk, in other words, the rain.

We open at random the book of the Cosmogony, the story of the world's origin according to the ancients. Therein we read how the giant Typhon weds Echidna (the storm cloud) and begets

Hydra (the rain-cloud), the dog Orthrus (the pale twilight) and the many-hued Cerberus (the nocturnal darkness that follows the twilight), the guardian of night and of the shades of the dead.

And, since we are on the subject of monsters, those that endangered the sailors who were compelled to cross the *Fretum Siculum* (the Strait of Messina), namely Scylla ("she who tears into-pieces"), and Charybdis ("she who swallows up"), were merely the waves resounding between the rocks, although the pirates who haunted the passage, and struck terror into the hearts of the sailors, may offer another explanation. The barking Scylla, whose effigy the Cumaean coins bore, originally was a beautiful virgin of the sea, transformed into a monser through the jealousy of Circe, to reveng herelf on whom, Scylla devoured six companions of Odysseus.

Ariadne's thread leads us again to Odysseus, the most glorious of the Greeks who attempted to return from Troy. He is about to start from the enchanted abode of Circe (the sorceress who changes men into beasts) for the realm of the dead, there, to consult the shade of the sooth-sayer Teiresias. Amongst the obstacles which delay his return to the tender Penelope, he has already surmounted that of the Cyclopes, but not the dan-

ger of the *Seirenes* nor of Scylla and Charybdis.

That the Cyclopes are volcanic and seismic forces, is clearly indicated by their descriptions and their names — Brontes (" the thundering "), Steropes (" the shining eye "), Arges, (" the glistening "), Kottus (" the striker"), Briareus, (" the huge "), Gyes (" the breaker "). These violent sons of Terra were early localized in Sicily, near Catania; but now, thanks to M. Berard, they can be recognized in the Phlegraean Fields, to which the Chalcidians, founders of Kyme, transferred the scene of the wars of the giants with the gods and with Herakles. The original battle-field was in the region " *phlaegreae* " of Thrace and Pallene (Thessaly) and, in the fervid Greek fancy the struggle of the elements assumed the aspect of real conflicts between heaven and earth.

Seen from a height, from the Camaldoli, for instance, the Campi Flegrei looks like a chessboard of craters and volcanic depressions; in each of them can be seen a dark hollow, hedged by a ring of earth (the eyebrow) and often, at the bottom, a lake that reflects the light of the sky (the pupil). These are then the single-eyed monsters of the land of the Cyclopes (fig. 7). Facing their land, we read in the Homeric poem, was a small island (*nesos lachéia*); and off the Campi Flegrei rises

Nisida, signifying simply *small island.* The little Homeric island had a singular harbor; so safe was it that no cables were needed to secure the ships. And such is the Porto Pavone of *Nesis,* formed by a crater the margin of which has been rent on one side, so as to let in the sea. Without dwelling longer on these topographic details, I shall again take recourse to glossology.

The southern part of Italy, which was called Oenotria took its name according to the legend, from Oenotrus, a hero from Arcadia, who had encamped on these shores. In Semitic the word (from *oin,* the eye, and *otar,* to enclose) is equivalent to the Greek Kyklopia: the etymology connecting Oenotria with the Greek *oinos,* (wine), is today held to be false.

Odysseus disembarked then in the land of the Cyclopes, the gigantic shepherds, and there he met with an unfortunate adventure. He had taken shelter in a cavern which has not been well identified. After a while the cyclops Polyphemos entered and closing the mouth of the cave with a rock, ate four of the hero's companions. Odysseus saved himself by his cunning. Succeeding in intoxicating the monster, he waited until he was fast asleep, and then with a burning stake crushed his eye and blinded him.

But the episode of the " much-enduring " Odysseus most intimately associated with Kyme's story is the Nekya (the consultation of the dead). Circe, whose enchantements the hero had avoided by eating certain herbs, required him to descend to Avernus, there to consult the soothsayer Teiresias before returning to the rocky Ithaca. The wanderer starts from Aiae (perhaps the present Promontorio Circeo) and, after a day's sail comes to the river Okeanos, where dwell the Cimmerii. He lands here on a low shore, covered with willows and poplars, and after skirting the River Okeanos, enters the abode of Hades, through which flow the Acheron (stream of woe), the Pyrophlegethon (torrent of fire), the Styx, (river of hate) and the Cocytus (river of tears). In other words, he arrives at nightfall from the open sea and enters the Lucrine Lake through one of the swift, whirling conduits. Beyond in the gulf, the waters are two shallow for navigation so, proceeding on foot, he reaches the banks of Avernus.

But where is the Okeanos? If we adopt the modern theory, it was not the broad sea, but according to an etymology no longer accepted, (*acayana,* the encircling) the great river, the father of all the springs, which was placed beyond the Pillars of Herakles, that is to say beyond the limits of the

known world. Another theory has lately been advanced: we have already seen that the name *Lucrino* is derived from *lucrum*, gain. If we translate into Semitic, lake, *(ḳoḳ)* and lucrum *(ewan)*, we have a word which corresponds to Okeanos.

The episode of the Nekya takes place in the Avernus. The lake, with its lucid, cold, metallic expanse, observes Ettore Romagnoli, has an aspect of gloomy calm and suggests thoughts of death and dissolution. The flowers of too flaming a red that glow on its shores seem to be fires of a supernatural world. Strabo tells us of the time when the crater rim surrounding the lake was completely hidden by a wild, inaccessible forest. Fearful tales were told of it. The birds, flying over the surface, were said to fall, asphyxiated by its deadly exhalations. The spot was believed to be connected with the Inferno and no one approached it without having first prayed and sacrificed to the infernal deities. The spring that rose nearby was shunned by all because it was supposed to be the water of the Styx. Around the lake, in ages anterior to the landing of the Greeks, the worship of a subterranean goddess (afterwards identified with Persephone) who presided over the abode of the dead, was localized in the depths of the extinct volcano. In antiquity, the common house of the dead was

imagined as a gloomy spot communicating, by means of passages, with the outside world. In Thesprotia (as generally in volcanic regions) existed also the pestiferous Aornus, the river Acheron and the oracle of the dead. And even today near the Lucrine Lake is a "river of fire" *(pyrophlegethon)*.

Following the directions of the enchantress, Odysseus sacrifices a black sheep, together with a ram, and after making libations of water, wine and honey, digs a hole with his sword and fills it with the blood of his victims. This sacrifice of Odysseus suggests the ancient Italic rites. The Latin texts speak of the *Lustratio ad iter averni* or the *suovertaurilia*, the sacrifice of the swine, the ram and the bull. After the rite, appeared a spectre that spoke and prophesied and vanished immediately after having answered the questions.

The odor of the blood of the victims brought out Teiresias. Of this old soothsayer (*d. r. s.* in Semitic means *to consult the dead*) the legend related that having disturbed two snakes in their mating, he was, as a punishment, changed into a woman and that later having committed the same offense, he again became a man. When one day Zeus and Hera had a dispute on the conjugal pleasures, appeal was made to Teiresias, to whom are known all the nuptial joys of man and woman;

his verdict was that the pleasure of the husband was only the tenth part of the wife's. Hera, moved to anger, blinded Teiresias, but Zeus in recompense, gave him longevity and the gift of divination, which he retained throughout a life enduring nine generations.

Issuing from the dark abyss of Hades the shade of Teiresias, (fig. 8) drinks the sacrificial blood and then tells Odysseus of Poseidon's wrath against him. Yet, he reassures him, declaring that he will reach his home where the chaste Penelope holds aloof the Proci weaving by day the web that she undoes by night. (Penelope is the dawn, weaving and spreading in the morning the shining web that is withdrawn at sunset). Very touching is his meeting with his mother Anticlea, whom the hero left alive when he started for the Trojan war. The women renowned for their beauty, their tragic passions, and the cruelty of their destiny, file before him; then, as on a vast stage pass those lofty-souled and heroic figures already immortalized by Homer in his *Illiad*; and finally, Tityus, Tantalus and Sisyphus, bearing with them their torments. But how can one summarily review this magnificent procession without disfiguring it?

Odysseus, returning from the realm of the dead, dedicated an oar on a column to Elpenor or, ac-

cording to Lycophron, he dedicated instead, a helmet to Persephone. It is probable that near Kyme was a temple of Persephone and that there, as in Sicily, the inhabitants believed they possessed a helmet of Odysseus.

(Fig. 8)

Odysseus consults Teiresias. The wandering hero is at the entrance of Hades. He has completed the sacrifice of the ram, and with his sword unsheated, holds off the souls that wish to approach him. Sad and pensive, the aged seer is seated on a rock. *(Scene from a southern Italian krater, now in the Louvre).*

Pausanias, who has left us the most diffuse information on the history of Greek art, records that Polygnotus (a famous artist of the age of Perikles)

painted in the *leske* (meeting room) of Delphi the Homeric version of Odysseus' visit to the shades. The life of the other world was a theme that always appealed to the imagination of the artists. A favorite subject with them was the story of the descent to Hades, whither only Dionysos, Theseus, Pirithous, Herakles and Orpheus were permitted entrance. The descent of Orpheus is narrated by Ovid with moving pathos. (*Metamorph.* X.).

It has been steadily held that Odysseus reached only the entrance hall of the Avernus. The souls were compelled by Persephone to rise up from Erebus and pass before him and then be plunged once more into the boiling sea. At least, the account has been so interpreted up to a certain point. Some modern scholars, however, including Prof. Vittorio Macchioro, believe that after the meeting with Ajax, the souls come up to him no longer, but that Odysseus descends to them. It would be practically an Orphic interpolation based on the most ancient theory of retribution according to deserts after the close of mortal life.

A real *katabasis*, (descent,) to Hades is that of Aeneas as described by Virgil. It remains the most famous journey to the world beyond the grave in the whole range of ancient literature. Just as Virgil borrowed ideas from Homer and

perhaps from the cyclic *Nostoi* and *Minyades* poems, in which latter, appeared for the first time, the boatman Charon, so the writers of the Middle Ages, Dante amongst them, drew inspiration from the great epic. But the legend of Aeneas was diffused comparatively late, when Rome was superbly advancing in power. It was Virgil (cfr. Hild, *La Légende d' Enée avant Vergile,* 1883), who gave it the unexcelled poetical form that we know so well, and of which I shall have occasion to speak again.

For the moment we shall accompany Odysseus to the end of the lovely bay which was said to have been the subject of dispute between Dionysos (Bacchus) and Demeter (Ceres). A new danger had to be overcome by the hero; the fascination of the sirens. These Muses of the sea were daughters of the river god Achelous and of Mnemosyne, or Melpomene. It was fabled that Demeter wished to punish them for not having helped their playfellow Persephone when the King of the Inferno came to carry her off, and therefore changed them into monsters with the body of a woman and the wings and legs of a bird. Placed by the legend, at the entrance of the bay between Capri and Sorrento, or to be more precise, at those rocks called the *Galli*, perhaps in remembrance of the meta-

morphosis, these nymphs of the waters which gush forth " sweetly murmuring", represented the dangers often to be met with even in a tranquil sea. He who stopped to hear their song, never again saw his wife and his children coming to meet him on the threshold of his home. Seated in a green meadow, the sirens charmed the seafarer with their singing; but not far away rose a mountain formed of bleached bones and decaying human skin.

Following Circe's advice, Odysseus, as he came to the fatal spot, stopped up the ears of his companions with wax and had himself bound to the ship's mast (fig. 2). Thus they all escaped the danger, although no sailor before them had been able to resist the wiles of the sirens. And the three enchantresses, knowing well that they were at last vanquished, hurled themselves to the bottom of the sea. Their wings alone, floating on the surface, appeared for some time in various places. Leucosia was finally cast up by the waves near Posidonia (Paestum), where today she is commemorated by Cape Licosa: Ligea was recovered near Terina by mariners who buried her at the mouth of a river flowing there. And Partenope, was gently borne by the billows to our gulf, to the place where rises the city which took from her its name.

THE DAWN OF KYME

Animal type decorations of a Cumaean vase.

THE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION.

SINCE heroes, in the belief of the ancients, invariably preceded men, Odysseus became the precursor of the first Greeks in the West. But how many years after Troy's destruction, which took place about 1184 B. C., did the founders of Kyme land on these shores? The date of the city's foundation has raised endless questions, which even today are very far from being conclusively answered.

The ancients believed they could fix with precision the date of the foundation of the colonies and they did not hesitate to indicate with perfect exactness the year of the Olympiad in which each one of the cities of Magna Graecia had been founded. Now, since most of these chronological data have a tendency to group themselves between the eighth and the seventh century (two

centuries before the beginning of history), we may easily perceive that they were altered in the third, that is to say, when an uniform national chronology was adopted throughout Greece. Strabo confines himself to the statement that Kyme is more ancient than any Greek city in Italy or Sicily; Velleius links the foundation of the city with the first Ionic and Aeolic emigrations; Eusebius (according to Syncellus) fixes the date at the year 968 of Abraham, which corresponds to B. C. 1049. This date does not rest upon a solid base. On the other hand, even setting aside those too definite assertions, which modern criticism regards with great severity, there in still left to us the general belief that the foundation of Kyme antedates by more than two centuries that of Rome and of Syracuse.

These dates, instead of being the expression of a historical fact, are either suppositions of learned Greeks, or deliberate fictions invented by men who adapted local history to the exigencies of politics. The Alexandrine chronologists throw back the foundation of the colonies to very ancient times, so as to endow the founders with heroic genealogies. When dates were lacking, they reckoned up the generations, three a century, a computation which, falsely applied, gave Sparta,

(Fig. 10)

Acropolis and cave of the sibyl.

(Photo National Museum of Naples)

for instance, an immense stretch of history. For Kyme, there were no pre-established eras and when they fixed the date of its foundation, this was found to be, against all probability, much earlier than the dates of the neighboring cities. That the Greek colonists aspired to a history as ancient as their traditions permitted, is natural enough. And the remote antiquity which they could not claim for themselves, they assigned to their heroes. It is certain that in very ancient times, on the coasts of Sicily and on those which later were called Magna Graecia, arose townships to which the traders sailing from Greece brought vases and other Hellenic wares, perhaps to receive in exchange, hides and slaves. But, thanks to the progress of navigation, the time came when from the Greek ships landed not only the merchant, but the marauder and the adventurer, in search of new bases. Zankle (now Messina) was first founded by Cumaean pirates, joined later by Chalcidians and Euboeans, who divided with the former the possession of the city. According to Thucydides, Perieres and Cratamenes, the one from Kyme, the other from Chalcis, came to be regarded as Zankle's founders. And to them the city always paid heroic honours, although in reality, they merely established formally the commonwealth.

Lavinia (near Rome) was not founded by Aeneas, as tradition has it. The Trojan hero, marrying the daughter of King Lavinius, entered the city and reconsecrated it. This rite however, was analogous to foundation.

A similar argument may be adopted for Kyme. When the Cumaeans felt the need of creating a genealogy, they had recourse to a legend respecting two heroes, Hippokles and Megasthenes. It would have been thought incredible that poor unknown sailors could have occupied so important a place on the coast of the rich and densely populated Campania long before historic times.

Max Duncker, the author of a monumental history of antiquity, believes that Eusebius, speaking of the foundation year, may have confounded the Italic Kyme with the Aeolic. And indeed, it is hardly probable that our Kyme arose three centuries before the date usually attributed to the other Greek colonies.

Helbig too, in his remarkable volume on the Homeric epopee, comes to the conclusion that Kyme was not founded earlier than Syracuse and Naxos (B. C. 735), which passed for the most ancient among the other colonies. He adduces the following reasons: 1) Kyme is the colony farthest from Greece; although it may be argued

that we are not in a position to know under what circumstances the Greeks, who, in the eleventh century B. C., went in search of new settlements, had been impelled to go as far as the Campanian coast. 2) In regard to the names of the founders, we are dealing with a later epoch when the establishment of colonies had become in Greece an operation directed by special laws and rules. No doubt, if the details are a later invention, it can be easily explained by the very natural desire of the descendants to ennoble an origin, lost in the obscure epoch of the first pirates, and to establish their status as colonists by providing themselves with official founders. Besides, it is not impossible that the Chalcidians found some inscriptions, from which they learned that they had been preceded by ten generations, and were thus enabled to fix what came to be known as the traditional date. 3) Vases similar to those of Mycenae should have been found. Here, we would be able to object to Helbig on the supposition that we may find them, or, that they were destroyed. Archaeology does not yet know the whole of the Cumaean necropolis, the oldest part of which may have disappeared. For as a rule, cities living a vigorous and prosperous life do not preserve the monuments of past ages, but destroy them every

day to give place to new buildings required by the needs of the time. Those who hold the theory of the more ancient foundation date, ask themselves: have perhaps the more archaic tombs of Kyme been discovered, which should form the link between pre-history and history, between the aborigines and the Hellenes? The latter are therefore of the opinion that the Greeks had predecessors in the West, but notwithstanding, find no good reason to object to the traditional date of the foundation of Kyme. Their view involves the acceptance of the tradition referred to by the pseudo-Aristotle, according to which, Kyme is said to have been founded about the middle of the eleventh century by a white tribe (the Phaeacians of the Homeric epopee), driven by the cruelty of the Oenotrians to the sea, whence they had also come.

Historical criticism has the right to reject dates artificially thrown back. Kyme cannot be regarded as a phenomenal precursor of Greek colonization in the West. We must assign it a place in the general movement of emigration. Now, the most ancient Greek settlements in southern Italy are of the eighth century. This date, suggested by Helbig for Kyme, received the approval of the archaeologists, but left unaccounted for the mother city, from which the colonists hailed.

THE COLONISTS.

The question of the colonists is a most intricate and difficult one. Livy (VIII, 22), states without explanation that Kyme was founded by the Chalcidians. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (VII, 3) and Strabo (V, 247) add, their neighbours, the Eretrians. Chalcis and Eretria were two cities of the Island of Euboea, and that is why Kyme was regarded as an Euboeic colony (cf. Virgil VI, 2). Other authors include as the metropolis, the city of Kyme. Two cities of this name were known in antiquity. One in Aeolis (Asia Minor), a great emporium of the East, was famous for its colonizing activity, but quite distant from the Island of Euboea; the other, a city of which little is known (surviving in the present Kumi), was in the same island whence the first colonists started. Which of these two cities was the metropolis?

To those who believe with Eusebius and Velleius Paterculus, that the Italic (really, the Opic) Kyme was a most ancient city, that is to say, founded before the existence of the Aeolic Kyme, or soon after, the question is superfluous. But not so to those who adhere to a later foundation date.

A poem attributed to Scymnos of Chios (236[st]

verse) relates that Kyme of Opica was founded first by the Chalcidians and then by the Aeolians. It leaves us to imagine that different colonists came to these shores at different times,—the first probably from Chalcis and Eretria; the second, from the Aeolic Kyme. Scymnos however, is not to be wholly trusted, as his source is Ephorus, who wrote the first universal history, and Ephorus was a native of the Aeolic Kyme.

Some modern historians see two periods in the formation of the legend of the foundation. The colonists may have been guided to Campania by the Aeolic Hippokles, but a story of different origin, known to the Chalcidian sailors, attributed this honour to Megasthenes of Chalcis. The poetic spirit of the Greeks, far from being dismayed by such contradictions, imagined a compact between the mythic founders whom they made friends and contemporaries. Hippokles seems to have contented himself with giving to the city the name of his native country, while Megasthenes assumed authority over it.

The Athenians, who in the fifth century invented for themselves a glorious ancestry to justify in some way their claims to a maritime empire in the West, ventured to affirm that Kyme had been founded by the ancient inhabitants of Attica.

And to prove that the population was in part Achaean, Pausanias (VIII-24, 5) tells us that in their temple of Apollo, the Cumaeans showed the teeth of the wild boar of Erymanthus, killed by Herakles. It is certain at least, that the oldest coins of the Cumaean mint allude to it (fig. 11).

(Fig. 11)

Phocian didrachma:
a lion's head between the heads of two wild boars.

Here, I may be allowed another digression. Diodorus tells us that from Sardinia, (whence Daidalos took flight) came also to Kyme the Thespians, claiming descent from Herakles. The ancient writers who recorded these traditions believed in the reality of the Pythian Apollo who ordained the foundation of the colonies, no less than in Herakles, fabled to have founded most of the Italiote cities. The very descendants of the Greek colonists, after some generations, were unable to relate with exactness the origin of their own city. As an expedient they used the legendary and religious patrimony brought with them from the fatherland to weave a kind of pre-history, localizing in these regions the myths already

celebrated by the epic poets and kept alive by sacred ceremony and worship.

Returning now to the question of Kyme, but lingering still in the field of conjecture, it seems much more likely that the Chalcidians chose as companions of their sea ventures men of their own island rather than dwellers in the Aeolic Kyme, so far from Euboea. But will proximity alone suffice to deprive the Aeolic Kyme of a glory that has been hers for so many centuries? Against the hypothesis of the Euboeic Kyme, first advanced by Bursian, is opposed another of ancient date. As early as the close of the sixteenth century, Scaliger held that the colonists had started from Aeolis and had touched on their way at Euboea, whence started the Chalcidian colonists who organized the expedition. And further, it has been argued that Hippokles was no isolated Cumaean sailing on a Chalcidian ship with the aim of founding the Euboeic Kyme, but that with him sailed a Cumaean colony. If Hippokles had been alone, Strabo would not have said, "by the Cumaeans". Besides, it was to the most honored man among the leaders of an expedition that the privilege of naming a city belonged.

Some help towards the solution of the problem is given by the examination of the archaeological

material discovered to date. There was found, for instance, a Homeric *pempobolon,* an implement of sacrifice, with teeth resembling those of the winnowing-fan. Now this implement, according to Eustacius, was used solely by Asiatic Cumaeans; instead of it, the Greeks adopted the *triobolon.* The general opinion is that Avernus or the Plutonion, the Elysian Fields, the oracle of the dead, or the Nekya, the worship of the sun and of Herakles, and the ministery of the Sibyl, all came to Kyme from Assyria and Persia, through Asia Minor.

Pellegrini, examining some archaic tombs, found that the furnishings and the funeral rites resembled those of Asiatic Ionia. He concluded by accepting the testimony of Ephorus and Strabo, admitting that in the foundation of Kyme, colonists both of Aeolic Kyme and Euboea had taken part.

The objects found in the tombs give rise to controversies as to their origin and call into question the value of certain ethnographic conclusions. The numismatic material on the contrary, is far from exciting such doubts. Gabrici holds in fact that while numimatics cannot contribute effectively to our knowledge of the epoch of the foundation, still its evidence may have considerable bearing on ethnographic problems. Showing as they do,

an affinity of artistic and religious concept with the monetary types of the Greco-Asiatic East, the coins indicate that the true tale of Kyme's origin has been handed down to us by Ephorus and Strabo. And Gabrici finally came to believe that the Euboeans arrived at a later period. To sustain his theory, he selects some specimens that correspond to the coins of Greek cities on the western coast of Asia Minor. For instance, the Cumaean coin that has on its reverse an oyster bearing a fish-tailed Triton, finds its perfect counterpart in an *elektron* stater of Cyzicus of some years earlier, on which appears the same triton figure engraved on a tunny. Cyzicus, it may be well to mention, was the port of an enormous traffic between the Black Sea cities and those of the Aegean basin.

Other points of identity of the monetary types will be considered in discussing the Cumaean mint. There can be no doubt that these coins should be regarded as products of the same artistic and religious concept. Even the system of weights and measures help us sustain the theory of Greco-Asiatic origin.

The question of the colonists has been examined also by Sogliano, in relation to a Greek epigraph. Finding therein phonologic and morphologic ele-

ments of the Aeolic dialect, he accepted the theory of Aeolic origin. But, putting aside the fact that Ionism was then dominant in the ancient city so that the form *Kyme* was always used, the study of the different Hellenic cults as well as the alphabetic and linguistic forms, in order rigorously to determine the origin of the colonists, may easily be the cause of error.

Although it is hardly possible to reach a definite conclusion, the greatest probabilities are in favour of the Aeolic Kyme.

THE LANDING OF THE COLONISTS.

> Primo in insulas Aenariam et Pithecussas egressi deinde in continentem ausi sedes transferre.
> Liv. VIII, 22.

While communication with Greece had already been established in the Gulf of Tarentum, the daring sailors who shamelessly carried on piracy, preferred to settle in Rhegium, Zankle and Kyme, where they could be reached only by rivals exclusively devoted to the life of the sea and well trained in the perilous and difficult art of sailing long voyages. That the Chalcidians, before founding colonies, should have wandered at various times over western shores, and that only later they came in numbers sufficient to give life to real

cities, is consistent with the natural development of that period. Nothing short of a full knowledge of the advantages to be gained by colonization, would have induced the Chalcidians to make permanent settlements.

From the Aegean Sea came the first throbs of civilized life; the leaven of culture spread wherever landed the swiftly sailing ships. The coasts of Campania, clearly Hellenic in character, were more attractive to the Greeks than any they had passed. The fair bay, sparkling like a gem-encrusted globet, and protected by two islands which seemed to stand guard at the entrance, together with the mildness of the climate, — milder than that of Attica or Euboea, — allured a people eager for expansion. "Several times", writes the illustrious archaeologist, A. della Seta, "this natural beauty had tempted the invader. The barbarians from the north crossed the snow-white crown of the Alps. The Semetic races from the south forced their way through the blue girdle of the Mediterranean. From the Alps or from the sea came the Etruscan and in the heart of Italy he created his civilization of superstition and luxury. Last of all, landed the Greek, driven by the barrenness of his country to go in search of new and fertile lands, — a greater Greece. And like the barbarian, the

Semite, the Etruscan, the Greek colonist, more forgetful than Ulysses, no longer yearned to return to his home and see the smoke rising from his paternal hearth".

The Greeks who founded Kyme, relates Livy, established themselves at first on the island called by him *Aenariam et Pithecussas*. The Pithecussae really designated the three islands of Ischia, Vivara and Procide, so that Livy's term is inaccurate. Just as on the coast of Macedonia the city of Aenea honoured the Virgilian hero as its founder, (thirty cities were said to have been founded by him), so too was Aenaria, (Ischia) linked with Aeneas, but in a period relatively late. Probably the name related simply to a tradition derived from homophony, for it may be that it came from *(h) aenos*, copper, (though we have nothing to show that mines existed there), or *ainos* = *deinos* (impetuous, terrible), as Ciaceri believes, because volcanic eruptions and earthquakes were the phenomena that must have created the deepest impression on the early inhabitants. On account of the volcanic nature of the land, the wars of the Giants (telluric forces) against Heaven were believed to have taken place first in the vicinity of Etna, and afterwards in the Phlaegraean region. Smitten by the thunder-bolts of Zeus, the giant Typhoeus lay

under the volcano Epomeo (Ischia) according to the legend related by Pindar (Pyth. I.), who blended the two traditions. Ischia was also called *Inarime (ein arimois)* and was linked etymologically with *Pithecussae* (monkeys), the name given to the three islands lying off Kyme. The tale that Zeus had peopled them with monkeys is probably due to Timaeus. It was rejected by a writer as early as Pliny (*Naturalis historia,* III, 6) who said: *non a simiarum multitudine sed a figulis doliorum.* ("not from the numbers of monkeys, but from vases called *dolii*"). The *dolii* were known as *pitoi,* and the clay used in their making was plentiful in those islands. Even though we accept the other hypothesis, we must not suppose that the Pithecussae were really inhabited by monkeys. Avidius speaks of the Cercopes of Pithecussae, who were changed into monkeys. The myth of the Cercopes had its origin in Euboea and was probably imported to the islands by the Eretrians. Great must have been the impression of the first Greeks upon their arrival in places where, although fire and lava did not issue from the mountains, they could still perceive signs of volcanic activity. Thus were recalled to their minds their native superstitions which attempted to explain the snares of occult powers by the myth of the Cer-

copes (confused perhaps with the Giants). The Cercopes were small, wicked men, liars and thieves, who delighted in playing annoying tricks on passers-by. Because of their wickedness they had been changed into monkeys. The Greeks, hearing the roaring and seeing the smoke of the volcanoes, thought they were in the land of the malicious Cercopes.

But the Island of Ischia was so stifling from the fumes of volcanoes and so frequently shaken by earthquakes, that the Chalcidians went in search of a calmer seat on the neighbouring continent and disembarked on the opposite coast.

THE PRE-HELLENIC VILLAGE.

A very serious error pervades the writings of the ancients as to the origin of the Italo-Sicilian colonies, an error common also to those who aim at reconstructing these origins solely from the study of the scant literary sources. An almost complete oblivion covers the native inhabitants, owing to the preconceived idea that Rhegium, Syracuse, Croton, Tarentum, and Kyme, came into existence as Greek cities, in consequence of many very ancient emigrations. But recent archaeological researches show us that a numerous industrial and agricultural population, already ad-

vanced in civilization, considering the time, must have occupied the coasts of southern Italy and Sicily long before the Pre-Hellenic and Hellenic sailors arrived, bringing with them a new art and the advantages of a harmonious language, the sounds of which could be fixed by written signs.

Until the close of the nineteenth century no one had scientifically dealt with the question as to whether on the superb rock of Kyme, commanding the sea and the fruitful plain, other peoples had settled before the Greek colonization. The most ancient amongst the Greek colonies, writes Patroni, was considered as a fragment of pure Hellas, transferred to Italy without previous or concomitant influence of Oriental peoples and without any contact with the inhabitants and rulers of the new land.

In 1897, H. M. Victor Emmanuel III, while visiting the royal estates with his young bride, ordered some excavations to be made near the Temple of Jupiter. If the hope of finding statues was shattered, the excavations were not fruitless, as they resulted in the discovery (needless to say how important) of the prehistoric village, no traces of which till then had been found. The village is located on the terrace of the hill to the slopes of which the necropolis extends.

Let us briefly review the material unearthed. Arranged in the order in which they were found in the tombs, the objects, consisting of pottery and bronzes, are now part of the prehistoric collection of the National Museum of Naples. All the vases are formed of artificial material, of a very impure clay and moulded by hand, without the aid of the wheel. Sometimes they are crudely engraved and polished with the smoothing-stone, and even now one may see the imprints of the potter's fingers.

The forms of the vases are few and primitive and they can be grouped under the following types: globe-shaped vases made in imitation of goat-skin vessels, but differing from the Greek *askos* (vase in the shape of a goat-skin sack) and therefore obviously independent of its influence; small pitchers reminding us of the ossuary vase of Villanova (of which I shall speak later) but differing in the smaller dimensions and in the vertical attachment of the handle. Besides the amphorae, of various sizes, but always with short necks, there are to be noted oval-shaped pots of a kind of clear yellowish clay. The goblets and the cups with high handles present affinities with those of the prehistoric cave of Pertosa (Salerno). Other types, are the cups with bifurcated ears, the original

shape of which must be sought in the neolithic period; goblets, two or three in every tomb, with wide cone-shaped trunks and a single handle; and ladles, similar in shape and composition to the ceramics of the Pertosa grotto. In the tombs were found two bead necklaces of the same material as the vases and some small cylinders called *baetyli*, amulets or talismans to ensure to the dead a life beyond the grave.

Among the bronzes are daggers or short swords, spear points, and crescent shaped and double-edged razors. These last are common in the bronze age but disappear in the first iron age, during which the razor takes the rectangular form. On the other hand, the type of fibula here characterizes the passage from the close of the bronze age to the beginning of the age of iron. The predominant type is that of the simple swelling arch. There is also the dragon fibula, which appeared in Sicily in the first iron age, about the tenth century B. C. The small ship type is a little more recent. Armlets, spiral or serpent-shaped, or in plain circlets; necklaces formed as simple rings or as chatelaines, with glass paste or amber trinkets, rings, etc. composed the adornments of the native.

As we have seen, the ancient Italic village cannot be assigned to the eve of the arrival of

the Greeks: the tombs of the aborigines belong to an earlier time. This is proved by the utensils peculiar to bronze age peoples and by their funeral custom, the system of burying the dead in receptacles or holes of elliptic shape, covered with a layer of pebbles. The first announcement that these aborigines were found buried in wooden coffins, provided with nails, was erroneous.

Yet this degree of initial civilization is arrested and disappears in Kyme as if by magic. The ceramics, for instance, remain poor and coarse, without acquiring the elegant forms of the Greek. In this respect the necropolis of Kyme differs from that of the Sarno Valley, where the vases of local material and the *bucchero* are found side by side. In other words, we miss a gradual transition from the aboriginal civilization to the much more advanced Hellenic. But, who were these aborigines and what was their fate? No source of a primitive Italic Kyme has been reached; nor could it well be reached. Patroni is perfectly right in holding that only the relics of primitive civilizations can tell the story of the epochs which have no written tradition, and can correct, or enrich with new facts those traditional data which retrace the course of the centuries.

Among the causes concurring in the formation

of the pre-Hellenic township of Kyme, the more important must have been its position by the sea and the need of the aborigines for an outlet on the Tyrrhenian. These people possessed a certain degree of culture. They belonged to the great family of the Osci (really Opsci), whose tongue, (there remain only some two hundred inscriptions), was one of the great branches of the Italic language. The Greeks called them Opici. We have already seen that the "land of the round eyes" was by the Semites abridged to *Oinotria*. This term formed of two words, was literally translated in the Odyssey in *Kuḳl-opia*. The Greeks, on the contrary, have given only the general sense in the later name of Opikia, the "country of the eyes". When the masses transcribe or translate, they simplify everything, taking the essential and ignoring the rest.

As though a terrific tempest had swept away the little group of inhabitants on the summit of Kyme, nothing remains of the peaceful and primitive township save the aboriginal necropolis. What became of the aborigines? Their tombs still keep the secret. It is probable that they were either slaughtered by the colonists, who were really no better than pirates, or took up their abode near Capua or in the Sarno Valley. Were

they surprised and crushed out of existence? According to Karo, the Chalcidian pirates seized the acropolis by force of arms. Gabrici excludes a forcible occupation. Others think that perhaps the two peoples came to an understanding. The Chalcidians were navigators and traders, who made their way into Campania with cunning and not with violence; at least, they failed to aim at the conquest of the surrounding country. Whatever may have been the year of their establishment in the Campi Flegrei, it was preceded by a long period of simple landings, of experiments with trading posts and factories. The Greeks did not join with, nor subject the natives. They merely made friends with them and teaching them the arts, became their directing mind. For we must never forget in reading the story of Italo-Sicilian civilization that the Greeks constituted the cultured and energetic element, small though it was numerically, as the English and the Spaniards do today in the vast colonies of America, Africa and Asia. The details of their funeral rites, following which the dead was enclosed in a wooden coffin, according to the custom of the Greeks, would indicate that the aborigines were on the way to a higher development. The Chalcidians found a land well adapted to the task of spreading civiliza-

tion. The whole trend of the oldest culture of Kyme, before the Chalcidians arrived, shows that the aborigines were a people prepared to receive the new ethnic element, and that contact with the settlers in their midst only anticipated their own evolution. In fact the original inhabitants assimilated the civilization of the colonists to such a degree that after some generations they regained superiority in their own hand.

THE NECROPOLIS AND THE SEPULCHRAL UTENSILS.

The ancient epilogue of the funeral solemnities, either the laying on the pyre of the beloved dead to reduce to ashes the body, annointed, perfumed and duly mourned over (cremation), or, the placing in the grave of the limbs already rigid in death (inhumation), is not merely a chapter in the history of interesting and curious customs. It also serves the archaeologist as he traces the various phases of culture, studies the influences of the contacts of one people with another, appraises chronological data, and classifies the sepulchral utensils, which differ according to the rites. The differences in the rites of burial and cremation to be noted between one necropolis

and another of the same age cannot always solve historical problems for us. Various forms of tombs and kinds of funeral rites are found among the same people, owing to the nature of the soil, caste distinctions and the station of the dead. Imagine what might happen in Kyme, inhabited by people of such diverse races.

In 1902, in a Roman necropolis near the well-known tomb with the *tholos* (domed, or round house) were found on the Artiaco estate three tombs that are very important in the chronology of Kyme. On one of the surviving rectangular tufa blocks of the first stood a large bronze basin covered with a shield with geometrical decorations. In the basin was another smaller one covered with a linen cloth of the ancient purple colour, changed by age into a brownish hue. The second basin held the silver ossuary with the ashes and some shapeless remains of gold ornaments. The tomb contained also other articles of jewelry, amber objects, silver vases, arms, pateras, — in short an entire princely outfit, more or less damaged by the flames of the pyre.

Near this sepulchre, — the resting place of one of the first Cumaean tyrants, — were discovered two archaic tombs with graves containing wooden sarcophagi. The type is not rare in Kyme and is called Egyptian, from the frequent occurrence in

them of Egyptian or pseudo-Egyptian scarabei. The dead, attired in their richest clothes had been buried, not cremated. The absence of arms shows that these were the tombs of two women of prosperous circumstances. If the find in metal was scanty, very bountiful indeed was the harvest of painted vases; Italo-geometrical *oinochoae* of the most varied shapes, exquisite little proto-Corinthian vases (a style attributed since 1892 to Argos and therefore now known as Argive) with geometrical decoration, a lekythos and a cup, which imitate archaic-Greek forms, although of Italic *impasto*.

Pellegrini, who has discussed these tombs in a detailed and valuable monograph (Mon. Lincei, XIII), concludes that they are all to be considered as contemporaneous, (the end of the eight century or beginning of the seventh), and attributes them to the same Greek race, notwithstanding the difference of the funeral rites. Karo, although accepting the conclusions of the eminent archaeologist, held that the one containing evidences of cremation (the tomb of the presumed tyrant prince) was a bit more recent, — some time in the seventh century. Maraglino thinks that these dates may have been arbitrarily lowered with respect of the chronology fixed by Arsi, who assigns to the end of

the eighth century the transition from the geometrical to the proto-Corinthian. In the furnishings of the Cumaean tombs, the pure geometrical style prevails, many such vases having been unearthed, while of the proto-Corinthian or Argive style, few examples have been discovered.

The tomb of the cremated Greek prince whose last dwelling place was adorned by the piety of the survivors with rich offerings of an art in the main Etruscan, exhibits even in the funeral rites a type more Greek than Etruscan. In Kyme as in Greece, inhumation is the rule in the archaic sepulchres, but cremation was practised increasingly as time went on. The crematory rite excludes domestic pottery, as all that remained of it is found in the *ustrini* (ovens); nothing was placed with the ashes of the dead but his personal ornaments and the arms laid on the pyre with the body. In the sepulchre of the prince were also deposited the traditional metallic service required for the funeral banquet, but outside the coffin, as though in the shadow of the sepulchre.

The archaeological importance of Kyme, admitted to be the first, or at least one of the most ancient Greek colonies in the west, and by reason of its geographical position probably one of the principal factors of Campanian civilization and no

less the teacher of arts and literature to Latium and even to Rome, has been enhanced by the discovery of some vases made of coarse local material, which repeat the mouldings, dimensions and decorations characteristic of the so-called ossuary of Villanova (fig. 12). It is not a Greek type of vase but one of the style peculiar to the indigenous civilization of central Italy, in an epoch prior to the coming of the Greeks.

The civilization of Villanova, which some trace to the predecessors of the lake dwellers, is peculiar to this zone of central Italy. It is contemporary with the first appearance of iron utensils and is distinctly marked off from the stone and from the bronze age. Cremation is the invariable rite in the necropolis of Villanova. The ashes are found in a terra cotta ossuary, which has the form of two truncated cones, joined at the base. This ossuary, with only one handle (the other is missing or, is stub-like) and covered with a cup, also without a handle, is buried in a cavity generally quadrangular. Consisting of a mere hole, it is sometimes lined with sandstone slabs. With the cinerary vase are found small accessory vases and other funeral utensils.

It is the common opinion that the civilization deriving its name from Villanova (near Bologna) spread no further than the southern border of the

province of Rome. But the discovery of the above described vase and of others like it has created a new problem for the archaeologists: how may

(Fig. 12)
Vase of the so-called Villanova type.

the presence of these vases in Kyme and in Campania be explained? Pigorini, admitting that southern

Italy reached the iron and the bronze age, held that it had the civilization of Villanova too, which was to be traced to the lake dwellers and linked with the civilization of the bronze age. In Patroni's opinion the vases of the Villanova style, if not unique, are at any rate rare. Only three of them (two at Kyme), seem to approach the typical form, almost as though to show that in southern Italy, the true Villanova tradition no longer existed (cremation and therefore the ritual use of the vase, having been abolished). It is hardly possible to explain the phenomenon of the almost sporadic reproduction of these shapes of vases by a migration from Villanova. It is more probable that it was due to commercial influence or infiltration. Between the inhabitants of Villanova and those of Campania (or rather, the race inhabiting the region afterwards called Campania), trade relations must have existed across Umbro-Latin currents, perhaps through federations, alliances, and long periods of peace, but never through invasions.

The excavations at Kyme, especially those made by Stevens, have supplied an abundance of pre-Hellenic vases. The potter's technique is the same used by the Italic peoples from very remote times and which had been brought

(Fig. 13)
Prehistoric pottery.

into contact with the more perfect products of the Hellenic East. These Greek vases at first

supplanted the local pottery and limited it to the more common domestic uses, but in turn were later copied in the territory itself. In the course of time arose numerous factories throughout southern Italy in which all the technical methods of the Greeks were adopted. Many of these factories adorned their vases with figured compositions according to a technique derived principally from Attic workshops. Patroni has shown that Kyme was one of the important centers of the manufacture of painted vases in Campania. But the vases of which I shall now speak are much more ancient. They are formed of an artificial mixture, a very impure clay, and moulded by hand, without the wheel. They were sometimes decorated, before the baking, with linear drawings by means of a a flat, knife-like, piece of wood. The baking was imperfect, as is shown by the patches on the surface that are either too light or too dark. The slight sheen indicates that a polishing process was used; very likely, friction with the aid of resinous or greasy substances.

The material obtained from the Stevens excavations was first arranged by tombs. Unfortunately the untiring excavator was stricken with a mental aberration and all the antiquities were then placed together in one room. At the same time

(1899) and before they were rearranged in the Museum of Naples with the help of the notes made during the excavations, Patroni decided to present to scholars some of the more representative types of pre-Hellenic pottery.

The vase which is probably the most ancient of these types is very coarse and badly made. It is globular, (fig. 13, 1), roughly imitating the wine-skin. The mouth is narrow with a short neck placed out of center and lacking a brim. The deep, closed handle is merely hollowed out near the neck. The *askos* (modelled after the wine-skin, as the name itself shows, but originating in Greece), is a form unknown to the aborigines. A local potter may have devised a similar form, without having seen Greek exemplars.

No. 2, in fig. 13, is akin to the first. The shape is more or less squat, the mouth narrow with brim slightly turned down, and neck very short. In the middle are three mammillary projections, quite characteristic of such pottery.

The third vase of the same plate is likewise of globular shape, but the mouth is large and without a brim; the neck is short. It has also mammillary projections. The type reappears, although seldom, in the pottery of the neighboring district.

The small amphora (No. 4, fig. 13) has been

obtained by lengthening the neck of the globular type already shown. Slight vertical depressions imitate a flute. It is the typical small amphora of the Campanian *impasto* pottery.

In the small cup No. 1 of fig. 15, are to be noted: the mouldings, the vertical brim, and the high flat handle. It is the continuation of a form that the aborigines copied from very early times from examples in metal.

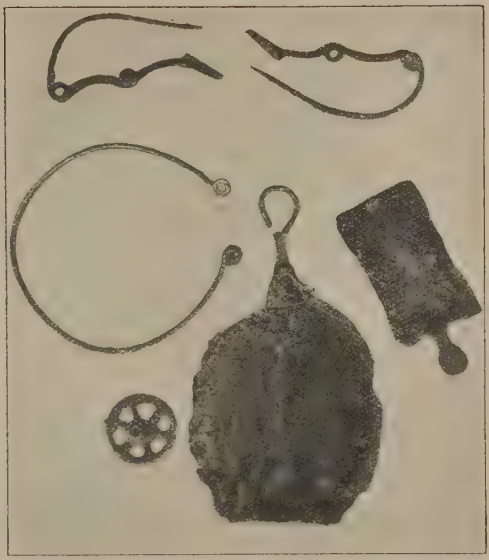
The other small cup is worthy of notice for the oblique fluting and for the handle with its medial ridge, a type of handle found in prehistoric caves.

The other cup too, has a medial ridge and is decorated with small lines traced with the usual flat wood implement.

The last vase here shown is of exceptional interest. It closely resembles the cinerary type of Villanova, already referred to. But according to Patroni, it is but sporadic in this region, where, since cremation was not employed in archaic times, it served no utilitarian purpose.

Cremation was not adopted in Kyme before the end of the eighth century. This established date does not support the theory of an earlier existence of the Greek city. For, to the question why the Chalcidians waited nearly a century before adopting cremation, when in Greece, it may be traced back

as far as the later Mycenaean age, and in the necropolis of the Dipylon at least to the beginning



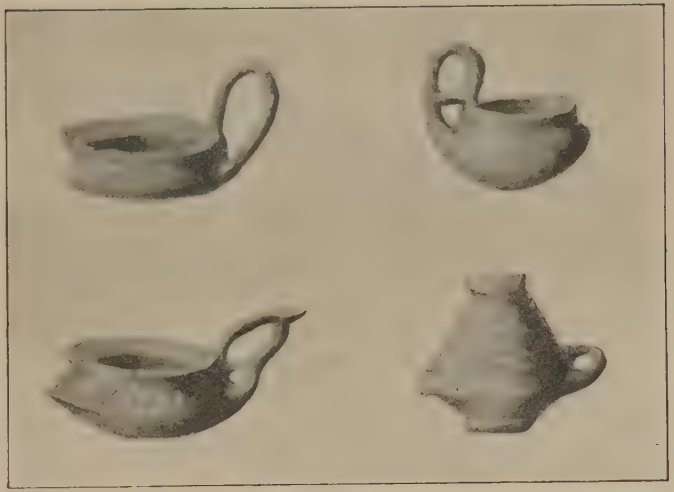
(Fig. 14)
Prehistoric objects: razor, leaf-shaped razor, phalerae, neck circlet, dragon design fibnla.

of the eighth century, the natural answer is that cremation is not found before the end of the eighth century precisaly because the Greek city had not

yet arisen. Towards the end of the eighth century, a change occurs in the funeral utensils. Along with inhumation, instances of cremation are also found, so that new types of graves as well as special vases in which to preserve the ashes are required. This change is due to Greek influence.

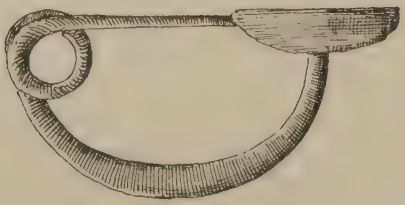
Before closing this chapter, I wish to add a few words on the objects found in the archaic tombs. The material is relatively scanty, as these tombs were ravaged first by the Greeks themselves (as has been verified in the necropolis of Myrina) and then by Italic peoples who from the fifth century onward successively occupied Kyme. Some of the archaic tombs are on a higher level than the later ones.

Among the objects, the bronzes are most worthy of note. While local pottery is coarse, poor and unskillful in construction and decoration, the proto-Greek bronzes are of finer finish and of a more highly evolved design. But they seem to have been imported from the East or from those centers of civilization rich in bronze products, which had been forming in northern and central Italy. The bronzes were ornaments for personal use. Silver too, was confined to personal adornment; only at about the end of the eighth century do we begin to find silver vases in the tombs. Some little disc-shaped



(Fig. 15)
Prehistoric pottery.

gold blades, used as pendants, were also discovered. These were simple, but of very fine workmanship and of great value, as gold was imported from far away lands. The fibulae form a notable collection. In more ancient times large pins were used. The fibula is a fortunate solution of the inconvenience of the pin. It appears in the Homeric dress as a fastener for the peplum and the *chlaina*. Homer describes the fibula used by Odysseus to fasten his purple *chlaina*. It was of gold and bore the representation a dog devouring a fawn. Fibulae were articles of attire peculiar to barbaric peoples, and for that reason they did not win favour with the Greeks. In Kyme there are two types to be observed: the swelling arch, (fig. 16)



(Fig. 16)
Fibula with fluted, swelling arch.

or the twisted arch, both with very long shanks. When not very wide, the arch is massive; in the

contrary case, hollow, or boat-shaped. The objects of daily life, produced by local industry, as well as their decorations, remain unchanged for a great stretch of time and through successive shifts of power retain their original characteristics. The form of the fibula, for instance, arched, dragon, or boat-shaped, was unaltered from the beginning

(Fig. 17)
Large bracelet.

to the end of the pre-Hellenic period. In the latest pre-Hellenic tombs, the scarabei are foreign to the local material. Some believe them to have been made by the Chalcidians, Could Greeks then have produced objects which are purely Oriental? Others, with more likelihood, think that they were imported by the Phoenicians. The glass beads too, seem to have come to Kyme ready-made, introduced there through trade relations with seafaring peoples.

The conclusion to be drawn from the facts herein noted, if the state of our actual knowledge enables us to form one, is as follows: The remains archaeology has to deal with, so far as Greek influence can be traced in them, are dated by authorities between the ninth and the seventh centuries; while the aboriginal, which bear no traces of foreign influence, range from the twelfth to the tenth centuries B. C.

THE GREEK COLONY

Ideal reconstruction of the temple of Apollo.

THE COLONY IN ITS DEVELOPMENT.

THE Greek colonization in the Mediterranean basin,—the greatest of the ancient world,—was the most salient fact in Cumaean civilization. Beginning about the middle of the eighth century, it lasted for several hundred years. During this period the shores of the beautiful Bay of Naples were bordered with cities, the glory of which still lingers in the remains of noble monuments.

The true history of Campania dates from the landing of the Greeks. Like the Phoenicians, they were a trading people; they were pleased with the Phoenician choice of sites for the establishment of settlements. But these two peoples differed in

their valuation and appreciation of all that life offered. To the Phoenicians the world was simply a market where one bought and sold; for the Greeks it was an open field in which man could develop the powers of mind and body. It is probably due to this superior moral conception that the Greeks won ultimate supremacy in the Mediterranean.

But the Greeks, too, were spurred on by commercial instincts. They were essentially mariners and retained this character when they settled in the Phlegraean region. Excess of population induced the Chalcidians, with whom we are particularly concerned, to leave their country. The fecundity of the Chalcidian women was proverbial in antiquity. But, not to overlook any legend, according to one curious tale, the Chalcidians left their homes because they were tormented by rats! In reality, demographic reasons combined with the spirit of maritime adventure drove them to seek distant lands.

For the most part, Greek colonies were sea ports, or at all events, placed like Kyme, very near the seashore. They were in short, the cities of a people who came by the sea and who meant to remain rulers of the sea. The oyster which was the countersign of the Cumaean mint (fig. 19) is a fitting symbol of the disposition of the Cu-

maeans, by nature inclined to navigation and to its commercial exploitation.

Certainly, Kyme did not offer a large and safe harbour. But the smooth beach at the foot of the steep and isolated hill on which the city rose, possessed a signal advantage. On it, the sailors could draw up their ships to the shelter of the overhanging rock. Others think that Kyme was planted

(Fig. 19)

The oyster: countersign of the Cumaean mint.

on the rugged height not as a maritime colony,—the open sea, swept by the winds, did not afford an easy landing for the "hollow ships",—but, as the new master of a fertile land. A struggle with the Greeks for the possession of the country was not undertaken, at least in the earlier period, by the aborigines who lived as savage cave dwellers.

The coasts of Campania, which early attracted the attention of the Chalcidian sailors, were strikingly Greek in character. The landscape, after nearly thirty centuries, is not very much altered. Possibly, at least so judges the eye of a geologist,

the lagoons did not exist which afterwards bore the names of Elysium and of Acheron (now the Mare Morto and Fusaro, Licola and Patria). The sea level was lower than the present by six or seven metres: the drainage from the slopes collected over a wide area. With the irregular sinking of the land along the coast the waters remained imprisoned and formed lakes. These lakes, or rather lagoons, and the Monte Nuovo, which rose suddenly, as I shall later describe, are the greatest transformations in the landscape.

To place themselves out of danger, the Chalcidians, either peacefully, or by force of arms, seized the rocky promontory (82 m. above sea level), on the site of an extinct volcano which in prehistoric times belched forth vast torrents of blackish trachytic lava. Rising perpendicularly from the sea, the hill seems rather the choice of the conquered indigenous population. In any case, no one who stands on the acropolis will believe that the founders of Kyme were honest merchants in search of new trading posts in a foreign land. Those who placed their abode here, were mighty tryants of the sea. As a protection against the assaults of the aboriginies, or of pirates like themselves, they made a great ditch, still to be seen on the eastern side. They left however, a narrow passage, leading

(Fig. 20)

The surrounding wall of the city. East side. *(Photo National Museum, Naples)*

to the only gate of the stronghold on the south-east side. The citadel was then enclosed with the so-called "Greek palisade", fortified more by nature than by art. The whole circuit of the walls was strengthened by small square defensive towers, vestiges of which are still visible. The remains of the ancient fortifications are not numerous, but can be clearly identified. Of the wall itself which surrounded the ancient city, only traces have here and there been found. The best preserved portion lies on the east of the hill. The blocks are carefully squared and joined and their elegant simplicity attests their old Hellenic origin (fig. 20). The wall followed the same direction as the road that leads to Licola. On the left, as one descends from the Arco Felice, and before arriving at a place called *La Cuparella,* there is a modern construction formed of great blocks of tufa, which unquestionably came from the city wall close by. It is clear also that the road leading to the gate ran between two parallel walls.

All the peoples succeeding the Hellenes, that is to say, the Samnites, the Romans, and the barbarians of the Middle Ages, superimposed their own works. So that, although but little remains today of the ancient walls, they are important because they bear the evidences of the history of

Kyme in the kind and size of their stones, in their height and structure, and in the position they occupy in the plan. The most ancient are on the higher elevation, almost hidden among the bushes. Large, trachytic parallelopiped blocks, they are regular and of the same height, and each about two metres long. Without cement or artifical foundation, they rise in series straight from the rock. When above the level of the ground, the stones diminish in size and reveal the Roman restoration and that made after the war with the Goths, by Erastus, prefect under Justinian. In the direction of the sea loom up the arches built by the Romans. These walls are arranged in three series, joined and strengthened by transversal counterforts, and reinforced by supports of masonry, acting as buttresses. Nature has destroyed the gigantic structure leaving only a few fragments, of little interest possibly to the eye of the untrained, but not to that of the archaeologist. As early as the imperial epoch, during the long period of peace, when the walls were no longer needed for defence, their material was employed in the construction of magnificent buildings. Here and there may be seen mediaeval walls built after the manner of the Greeks and Oscans. There are tombs too, of broken Greek material mingled with fragments of Roman columns, blocks of marble and

brick pilasters torn from the buildings, perhaps when the unhappy citizens, in the vicissitudes I am about to relate, were pressed by the barbaric invader to seek shelter behind the bulwark raised with the ruin of their fatherland.

No very extensive excavations would be necessary to mark off the boundaries of the city and to complete the archaeological plan first traced out at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the authoritative de Jorio. In places, the Greek walls show added layers of Samnitic, Roman and mediaeval construction, a complete record of the successive masters of the colony.

The Cumaean territory was not vast. To the south, it did not go beyond what was then called the *Palus Acherusia* (today Lake Fusaro) in memory of the marsh of the same name at Cape Kummerios in Epirus, where flowed also the Acheron and the Aornus. Eastward it surrounded the Lake of Avernus and extended to the slopes of Mount Gauro, the highest peak (330 m.) in the Campi Flegrei, the spur of Camaldoli excepted. *Gauros* in Greek means *superb, high*, and the name was retained by the Latins. For the early sailors it must have been a landmark. Juvenal calls it *inanis*, that is to say "vain", as its great external bulk was rendered vain by the concavity of the

inner crater. Now, if it is not a case of simple homophony, the Semitic languages have *g. ov. r.*, meaning, " to dig out (the eye) ", consequently, " to blind " : *gauro* would signify " the blind eye ".

The Cumaean territory included other Campanian hills and reached almost to the river Claino, on the other side of the *Palus Liternum* (today Lago di Patria). Although the river Glanis or Clanius, was not near Kyme (it flows by Capua) Stephanus Byzantius, called it *potamós Kúmes*, " the river of Kyme ".

Which of the neighboring ports was first used by the Cumaeans cannot positively be determined. Before Puteoli acquired its great commercial development and became the emporium and sea port of the surrounding district, it is probable that the port of Kyme was the *Sinus Baianus* (bay of Baiae). The territory of Kyme, on the other hand, extended from the earliest times as far as the promontory of Misenum, at the foot of which was the port described by Lycophron, nearly three centuries before Christ, as " a secure shelter for ships ", because " not open to the fury of the waves ", and in the imperial age, one of the two military ports of Rome, mistress of the world. Livy, in book VIII, says that the Chalcidians, after fitting the soil for agriculture, founded a port that communi-

cated with the Tyrrhenian sea. It does not seem probable that the historian alludes to that "fluctuating and stormy lagoon", of Lycophron's description, which because of its stagnant waters, was variously called in the Middle Ages, *Sfosarium, Infusarium, Fusarium*. The Lago Fusaro was very likely only an arsenal or dry-dock. The city perhaps had no need of a port; the long straight shore sufficed for its boats, when they were drawn up on the beach. Even the lake of Licola could on the other hand, serve for their *oneraria* or merchant ships.

Kyme was called the "observatory" of the Tyrrhenian. Rising on the rock which towered over the sea like a huge keel, it greatly resembled the situation of Pithecussae, its mother city. Pithecussae, too, had chosen the inaccessible summit of the trachytic mount of Vico.

As a result of its fortunate position Kyme was destined to be the link between Greco-Asiatic and the Italic races. The most ancient commerce between Asiatics and Etruscans aimed at a traffic in copper, plentiful on the Tyrrhenian coasts: there were, and still are, rich mines in the Isle of Elba. The trade of the Greeks was chiefly in painted and varnished pottery; they possessed the secret of a technique vastly superior to that of the

barbarians. Kyme moreover bought agricultural products from the aborigines of the plain and sold them the manufactures of industrial countries. Although situated in a fertile district, Kyme did not live on the products of its soil. It was in short, a mercantile city, and though never of great commercial importance, it was called an *emporium*. Until the beginning of the second century B. C., Puteoli was a small town and Misenum was sparsely inhabited. Agriculture first brought about the development of this region. If the Cumaeans did not occupy the most extensive part of the Campi Flegrei, they certainly occupied the best. Up to the fifth century, they had the largest corn market, and were able to fill the greater portion of the needs of the Romans. The wines of Mount Gauros were among the finest known and were considered of a quality equal to those of Massicum. A lighter kind of wine was called *ulbanus* but was fit for drinking only after five years. Even the vegetables of Kyme, especially the cabbages, were famed.

The fertility of the district created its wealth and maintained its luxury. Hyperocus in his history of the ancient Cumaeans, tells us of their gorgeous garments, covered with jewels and precious metals, and fashioned by their slaves.

The period of greatest commercial importance

(Fig. 21)

Oinochoae of geometric style. The second is notable for its decoration, consisting of entwined ribbons, tied in bows, and terminating in the anthemion ornament.

was reached in the sixth and fifth centuries, when the city became the undisputed intermediary between the Strait of Messina and the estuary of the Tiber.

The Chalcidians who transferred their seat to Campania, found there an environment ready for the spreading of a higher civilization. Their influence is to be traced from the end of the eighth century in the diffusion of industrial products and the establishment of pottery factories. Thus we pass from the coarse ceramic to the art of vase making, from the crudely engraved *impasto* cups to the exquisite geometrical aribalIoi, from glass to amber (elektron) beads, from the big, heavy bronze fibulae to the skillfully granulated type of amber and silver.

Kyme was the teacher of the arts and her light radiated over Suessula, Capua and Nola. The city had relations, and those not merely commercial, with the inhabitants of Latium and southern Etruria. Indeed, it had a share, though but indirectly, in the development of the civilization of those vigorous peoples of the Tiber plain who founded Rome. The Chalcidian ceramic found in the Roman Forum is a proof of Kyme's influence. The far later tradition, related by Virgil, according to which Aeneas landed at Kyme, is perhaps due to this influence.

The "mixed colony" brought from the fatherland its religion, customs, and system of government. At first, the colony was administered by magistrates, of whom one was called *fulakte*. When this magistrate left office, he was detained in prison at the disposition of the senate, which judged him according to his merits. Kyme was a democratic republic, modifying its political constitution by a high electorate, and placing the power in the hands of a council of one thousand, chosen from among the richest citizens. The operation of this wise constitution was interrupted in 544 B. C., by the tyranny, happily of short duration, of Aristodemos Malakos. But by that time the maritime power of Kyme was already on the wane and the city was fast losing its Greek character, owing to the admixture of Etruscan and Volscian elements. In the coins of 450 B. C. there are some peculiarities of style which show the predominance of the indigenous element.

As happens in the natural order of things the moral code in the earliest period was very rigid. In this regard Plutarch in the *Greek Questions* (11), tells us that when the Cumaeans found a woman guilty of adultery they led her to the Forum where she was compelled to mount a stone block and be exposed to general derision. And, as if this were

not sufficient punishment, they made her ride an ass around the city and afterwards return to the Forum. The woman was branded with infamy for the rest of her life and took the name of *Onobate*, meaning, "one who has ridden the ass".

Quite apart from the period of effeminacy through which Kyme passed under the tyranny of Aristodemos, as we shall see later, society became more and more dissolute. Athenaeus tells us that the rich Cumaean women wore silk dresses embroidered with gold. Pliny calls the coast of Opikia "a field of competition in human pleasures". But we are now speaking of Roman rule, when the center of fashionable life passes from Kyme to Baiae, Bacoli and Misenum, while Puteoli becomes the most important commercial city. Kyme at that time truly merited the appellation of "tranquil", given to it by Statius.

PRODUCTION OF CERAMICS.

The Cumaean land, once populous and migthy, today has the aspect of a dead city. Over the magnificence of temples, squares and villas, flaunts a luxuriant harvest, alternating with vineyards and orchards. A terrible picture of the instability of all things human meets us at every step in this

corner of Italy. Wretched beings inhabit the shapeless ruins of noble mansions. Stagnant waters and an ever restless sea destroy and cover the most renowned temples of Pagan credulity. Here and there a beast of burden strays in the corridor of amphitheatre or stadium. In the tombs adorned with bas-reliefs, where once reposed the remains of distinguished personages, swine wallow in reeking filth. But even so, an untiring zeal compels the archaeologist to search in the debris for vases and other objects. And this is no mere mania. These objects help us to reconstruct history. Masterpieces are isolated phenomena of art. They do not indicate the average culture of the moment in which they were produced. The *Divine Comedy*, appearing in the first years of the fourteenth century, represents the most flourishing period of Italian literature; in those same years the vast majority were sunk in ignorance. But, a sure index of a people is to be found in the decorative arts, those arts which, inborn in the human spirit, — appear on the earth with man, distinguish him from the brute, and accompanying him in every time and place, form the true gauge of his esthetic capacities. Indeed, the development of civilization is largely due to this mysterious and divine passion to beautify all that serves human

(Fig. 22)

Oinochoae. The first is of the most refined technique; besides the ropelike handle it has two rings in relief around the neck. At the base of the neck is painted a large meandering line. In the center is a scene representing animals: lions and deer.

existence from the cradle to the grave, ranging from the peaceful utensils of domestic life to the savage arms of vengeance and of war. The decorative arts are the direct, instinctive and sincere expression of a people, by which are revealed their characters and tendencies, the changes in their desires and their warlike or peaceful habits. The history of the decorative arts is, therefore, the history of civilization. And the pottery rescued by the excavator's spade from the darkness of the tomb is of inestimable value in its interpretation. From the end of the eighth century to the Samnite invasion, full two centuries elapsed. Consequently, the tombs should have been numerous. But, as the Samnites, and then the Romans, continued to bury their dead in the zone immediately adjoining the city (the Correale farm) they destroyed and plundered a great many sepulchres and removed the precious funeral objects of Greek workmanship, the broken remains of which were found in the interments of a later age. The Oscan population of the third century dismantled the ancient Greek cemetery expressly to build their own tombs near the walls.

The Greek-archaic tombs are northeast of Kyme, as the Greeks were in the habit of burying outside the walls of the city, and on the northern side. They are to be found on the Artiago farm and

have relatively escaped plunder. Towards Licola and far from the city, there are also a few tombs. A part of the archaic necropolis was included in the circuit of the walls built by Aristodemos Malakos in the sixth century. Naturally, differences of opinion are not lacking among the archaeologists. Patroni would assign the archaic tombs to a period much earlier than the tenth century B. C., while Pellegrini holds them to be of the period preceeding, if not contemporary with Greek colonization, which revolves around the middle of the eighth century. The outcome of the debate on the question of the most ancient civilization of Kyme, depends very largely therefore on the classification of the pottery, as to which, we cannot absolutely determine whether it were Greek importation or the product of a flourishing local industry. Besides, we know little or nothing of the first period of the life of the Chalcidic city, destined to become so prosperous and to mark a new era in the history of Italian civilization through the introduction of the alphabet.

Such an important city must needs have had an extensive necropolis. Before the arrival of the Greeks, when the aborigines lived on the acropolis, their cemetery occupied the eastern slope of the hill, and was afterwards included in the area of

(Fig. 23)

Lekythoi with conical body and long, cylindrical neck.

the Greek city. In this enclosure, many primitive tombs were discovered with utensils of the iron age and skeleton remains of bodies buried according to the funeral rites of the aborigines.

The vases of geometrical style are quite characteristic. The principal design of their decoration is composed of stripes of brownish-red, sometimes inclining to black, sometimes to blood-red, and running horizontally around the body and the neck of the vase. In others the decoration is formed of vertical intersecting lines. The bottom of the vase is varnished, but with the yellowish color natural to clay. The *figulus* (potter) had his dread of vacuum, and densely filled up the surface by drawing oblique and zig-zag lines, and series of triangles along the neck or on the body.

Gabrici divides the vases into three main groups, clearly to be distinguished by the examination of the clay, the color, and the decorations. One category is formed of vases of clarified clay with a reddish or ashen tint. These show a geometrical decoration of brownish-red. A second category is of clay of the same color as the preceding but the surface is veneered with a finer yellowish clay. Few of these vases have come down to us free from corrosion. A third class is formed of a very durable yellow-greenish clay.

There is no great variety in the shapes. We have the *oinochoë* with a trilobate mouth; the *lekythos* with flat base; the globular *aryballos*; the cup with mouldings that can be reduced to two fundamental types, the *tazza* and the *skyphos;* and some other small vases of sporadic shapes.

A few types are given in the following plates. The oinochoë (a vase used, as the word itself shows, for the wine of the libations) appears in several very distinct varieties, often slender, with a body narrowing in the form of a cone at the base (fig. 21, 1). The length of the neck and the greater or lesser curve of the body give many varieties to this type, which for a long time was preserved in the original mould. It is similar to the oinochoae of the more ancient geometrical pottery of Attica, copying faithfully the simple decoration of stripes and lines.

The oinochoë (No. 2 of plate 21 and No. 2 of plate 22), are esthetically admirable. The external surface, of a yellow color inclining to green, is finely polished by the wheel. The peculiarity of these vases is in the ornaments of the body, consisting of large intertwined stripes, in volute-like curves, terminating with a little tassel, — a primitive form of the anthemion.

There is a much more refined technique in the

(Fig. 24)

Lekythoi. No. 1 is of very fine clay, decoreted in reddish-brown. On the neck are geometric designs. The upper zone of the body is adorned with an uncoiled serpent; the lower, with four grazing deer.

fourth century oinochoë. Their clay is of a reddish color, shot with bright gold. The handle is rope-like. The shoulder zone is covered with figures of animals of crude workmanship.

A shape of vase of very frequent occurrence in the more archaic tombs is the so-called *lekythos* of a conical body and a long cylindrical neck with ribbonlike handle. The typical ornamentation is the large meandering line.

No. 1 of plate 23 is among the most archaic. Akin to this is lekythos No. 2 of ashen clay and with brown varnished ornamentation. The first lekythos of plate 24 is one of rare beauty. It is of the finest clay, and has red-brown decorations. In the upper zone of the body is an uncoiled snake; in the lower, are painted four grazing deer. The vase is representative of the most flourishing period of this art, when the ceramist had acquired both skill and taste. The lightness and elegance of the outlines are attained with a few strokes of the brush.

The aryballoi (plate 25) of various qualities of clay have an almost spherical body, a long neck and a ribbonlike handle. The decorative designs are reduced to concentric circles, reticular triangles, rhombs with small lines at the corners, lines like fish-bones, etc. They show, besides, an ornamentation of plant and animal motifs, creeping snakes,

fish, grazing deer, birds, star-like petals, etc.

But where did the geometrical Cumaean style originate? Gabrici, after minutely examining the similar pottery of Attica, Boeotia and Argolis, has no doubt whatever that the vases found in the Cumaean region are a product of the Chalcidian industry, in as much, as the Chalcidic pottery contemporary with the most ancient Greek-Cumaean tombs, is not adequately known. This opinion does not find favour with the ceramics experts, Macchioro among them. Assigning to Argos the proto-Corinthian style, Macchioro holds that a different view must be taken of the considerations on which Gabrici bases his theory as to the diffusion of the proto-Corinthian style in Campania, Latium and Etruria; for, recognizing a strong center of production in Greece, it is more probable, in Macchioro's opinion, that the proto-Corinthian style spread at the same time over both central and southern Italy, instead of having been diffused solely by the latter through the medium of Kyme.

Neither of the two great Cumaean collections in the National Museum of Naples has Attic vases of the black figured style after the manner of the early masters. But it is presumable that such specimens are to be found among the numerous vases removed by clandestine excavation. In the two

(Fig. 25)

Arybælloi with wide body and short neck; lineal and animal type decorations.

aforesaid collections, the Attic series begins with the artists of the *kylikes* and with those known as the miniaturists.

Outstanding among the great vases is the amphora representing the rape of Antiope (fig. 26), discovered in a Samnite tomb. The maiden who is

(Fig. 26)

The rape of Antiope. Theseus is carrying off the queen of the Amazons and leading her to the chariot which the charioteer Phorbas will drive over the great course. The enterprise is honored with the presence of Poseidon. Amphora of the VI century.

being carried off was a queen of the Amazons; the hero holding her in his arms is Theseus. Waiting to aid him in his flight is the charioteer Phorbas. Pleasing elements in this scene are the rythmic distribution of the figures, and more particularly, their

unity of action. This vase approaches nearer than any other to the style of the early masters; the rest belong to the period of the *traditional style*. Some *buccheri* and fictile vases of the Corinthian and Ionic-Etruscan types are of the sixth century. Practically all represent the local industry.

The most ancient among the Attic vases (early fifth century) is a little aryballos on which six young men, nude and blind-folded, are depicted in the act of cleansing their bodies with the strigil. Some peculiarities in the drawing resemble, according to Gabrici, the style of Euphronios the Younger, or of Duris. These diminutive vases were perhaps intended to contain perfumes; certainly they were suspended from the girdles of the athletes in the palestra. Vases which can be assigned to the period of the later *severe style*, and also to that of the *beautiful style* are not lacking. But to describe them, a longer and more detailed treatise would be necessary.

We must not leave unnoticed however, the aryballos of the Amazomachia which, owing to the perfection of the drawing and the nature of the composition, might be called an epitome of the history of Greek ceramics. The moulding is characteristic of the aryballoi of the fifth century. The body of the vase is entirely covered with a spirited

(Fig. 27)

Aryballos of the V century with scene from the Amazomachia. A bitter contest is taking place between the Amazons and the Greeks, who are fewer in number. The reproduction shows Theseus above making a flank assault on Antiope, armed with bow and sword. *(Photo Sommer)*

battle scene between Greeks and Amazons. The thirteen symmetrically distributed figures are engaged in a fierce struggle. The Greeks are fewer in number and so all, save one of them who is dying (Teithras), are fronting one or more Amazons. Each figure, whether in attack or in defence, whether charging the foe or retiring to advance anew, is an admirable study (fig. 27).

The terra cottas of the finest clay represent the continuity of the Chalcidian products, the manufacture of which was prolonged until the beginning of the sixth century. For the most part, these vases are adorned with figures of animals. Another class of reddish clay terra cottas is composed of small figures of women, standing or seated, of masks, phallic Sileni, etc. In style they hark back to Ionic art. There is no doubt that they were funeral utensils. Sepulchral too, are the architectonic terra cottas bearing in relief a Gorgon or a sphinx.

The bronzes of the sixth and fifth centuries are limited: the greater number are large *lebeti* of various mouldings or small flat basins. They are the receptacles which preserved the ashes of the dead. The *appliques* are interesting for their original forms. The gold jewelry of these centuries is of extreme rarity in the necropolis of Kyme. Neither the Count of Syracuse nor Stevens ever succeeded

in finding specimens. By happy chance in the excavations made by Avv. Osta, was brought to light a very precious necklace (fig. 28) which is unequall-

(Fig. 28)
Gold necklace.
(Photo National Museum, Naples).

ed for its novelty as well as for its pure Ionic-Etruscan character. It was found in one of those great tufa slab sepulchres known as the Etruscan

tombs. It consists of a number of intertwined chains, of fine, twisted mesh, and is finished at the extremities with two soldered cylindrical caps. But this jewel owes its rare value to the little central cylinder and its appendices. On this cylinder, as on a base, two small female figures are lying in the well-known attitude of one seated on the *kline*. The figure on the right is of archaic style as is clearly seen by the curls encircling the brow and by the smiling expression of the face. From the cylinder hang three small pendants. Those on the sides have the form of a siren; the one in the middle, of a demon. The precision of the workmanship and the modelling of the small figures render this necklace of Ionic-Etruscan art archaeologically most important.

THE INTRODUCTION AND USE OF THE ALPHABET.

The first Greek or Phoenician sailor, who, landing in Italy, brought to the native inhabitants those few conventional signs whereby we fix the sound of the letters, was really the unconscious author of the intellectual and political systems of the various populations from the Alps to Sicily, and contributed much more to the formation of the Roman Empire than the Scipios or the Caesars.

In a process of development for two or three thousand years, the alphabet finally made it possible to establish the sound of any word by means of twenty or twenty-five phonetic symbols.

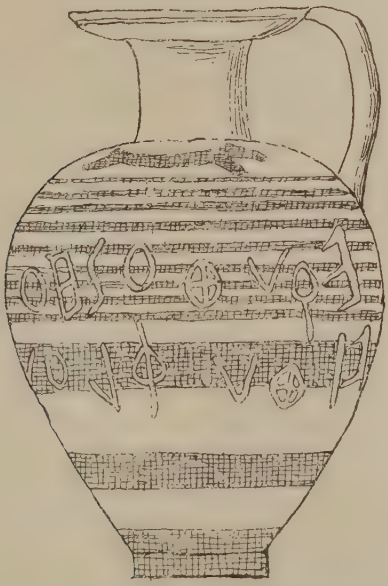
With the exception of a few epigraphic specimens found on coins and on tomb stones, the greatest and oldest centers of progress along the coasts of Italy left no record of a literary activity in the Hellenic language during the entire sixth century. The first evidence of epigraphy in Italy appears in Magna Graecia on impressed coins, — those on which the stamp was engraved by striking with a mallet, — and in a few Hellenic inscriptions of Kyme. Although Kyme was regarded as a great center of archaic writing, it has given us to the present time, only sixteen texts, distributed among epitaphs, metallic incisions, and engraved vases. The oldest inscriptions, those dating from the sixth century, are *retrograde,* that is, to be read from right to left. These were followed (520 to 400 B. C.) by the *bustrofedic* system, a sequence imitating the movement of an ox, which when ploughing, returns on itself without stopping work. Bustrofedic inscriptions appear in Greece in the sixth century, but in Kyme, not until a century later. The " straight away ", — the system of writing now used, — then follows.

Illustrators of the Cumaean inscriptions and those who attempt to fix their chronology are seldom able to resist the fascination of extreme antiquity attributed to Kyme by the Alexandrine writers. The tendency towards exaggeration doubtless arose from the fact that the city, as the crossroads of many races, became a sort of literary melting pot for a rich patrimony of fable and folklore, which long served as a substitute for history.

The introduction of the Chalcidic letters on the Campanian coasts marks a memorable date in human affairs. This Greek alphabet, arriving in Italy shortly after the Achaean, in the last decades of the sixth century, took root in Rhegium and in Kyme. Creeping gradually along the Tyrrhenian coast, it modified the existing alphabet of sixteen letters (already known probably, in Etruria and Campania); added symbols to all the unformed Italian graphic systems and finally, towards the beginning of the third century, transformed as well the writing of the Romans. Emerging at last in a new order and under more artistic outlines, these letters during the thousand years that followed, were diffused by consuls, emperors and popes to the most remote parts of the earth.

When the Chalcidian alphabet was first brought to Kyme, those sixteen or eighteen letters which

had originated in the isles of the Aegean Sea in the seventh century and had been preserved almost



(Fig. 29)

Lekythos of Tataje, with right to left inscription: " This is Tataje's lekythos. Who steals me shall become blind "! *(British Museum).*

intact in the Tyrrhenian alphabet, were doubtless already in formal and religious use. The engraving

on a Corinthian vase found by Stevens confirms this plurality of the alphabet in the same territory.

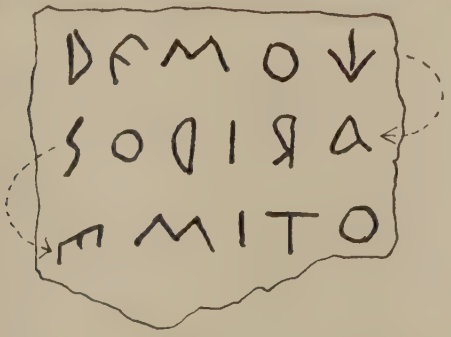
The oldest inscriptions are found on the vases and particularly, on three lekythoi. Some attribute these inscriptions to the last quarter of the eighth century, about two centuries before the generally admitted date. Ribezzo, who has devoted himself to a profound study of Cumaean epigraphs assigns the oldest to the seventh century.

The coins do not offer special characteristics either of style or of graphic elements to indicate the archaic derivation of the legends. They are generally assigned to the fifth century, probably because the most ancient coins are not epigraphic.

A well known retrograde inscription is to be seen on a vase discovered by Lord Vernon and now among the treasures of the British Museum. Composed of three lines and reading from right to left, it represents the primitive stage of Chalcidic epigraphy before *bustrofedism* appeared at all. Because the letters have a trace of the beauty and the studied accuracy of the dawning graphic art, they have been generally ascribed to the end of the sixth century. Ribezzo, however, adheres to a seventh century origin. The vase is an *unguentario,* or ointment container, known as *Tataje*, from the name of its owner (fig. 29). It bears

the ingenuous anathema: " This is Tataje's lekythos. Who steals me shall become blind "!

After the retrograde writing, came a period of uncertainty marked by a bustrofedic tendency. From this period are two inscriptions discovered in the excavations of Lord Vernon. One of them (fig. 30) reading, " Democharidós eimi tou "... may



(Fig. 30)

Bustrofedic inscription:
" I am (the sepulchral memorial) of Democaridos ".

be completed thus: " I am the sepulchral memorial of Democaridós ", making the monument speak for itself. Judging by the characters, the inscription could be assigned to the opening decades of the fifth century, although Ribezzo recognizes in them the system and the style of the sixth century. From

this time onward, we find the left to right manner of writing of the present day. The direction of the writing would therefore serve as a complete chronological guide and strong element of proof, should other archaic characters be discovered.

Nearly all writers agree that the alphabets of central Italy are derived from an alphabet similar to the Chalcidian. For the Latin, no doubt is possible, but there is some uncertainty about the Etruscan. It is presumable that the Etruscans received their alphabet before they reached Italy. The reasons advanced by an archaeologist to sustain the theory of an origin of the Etruscan alphabet independent from that of Kyme is based on its stage of development previous to its sudden transformation. In central Italy, the assimilation of the Greek population was a more gradual and natural process, so that the Chalcidic alphabet was first modified and eventually adopted. The commercial influence exercised by the Chalcidians in maritime Etruria was sufficient to the end that the Cumaeans could introduce their own alphabet there.

Until the Roman chisel impressed the graphic law with its rigid severity, the Italian alphabets preserved their diverse forms. Precise and simple as they are, the Latin characters made possible

for the Romans and the peoples deriving their civilization from them, a less laborious reading and writing and consequently, a more facile transmission of ideas.

COINING AND ITS DEVELOPMENT.

I have already pointed out that numismatics assumes the chief place in the problems of the origin, history and movements of ancient peoples. While no monetary systems appear before the beginning of the seventh century, coins examined scientifically and with the aid of archaeology, enable our vision to penetrate much farther into the past.

Kyme was the only city of Campania that coined from very ancient times. With the exception of a strip of the coast of the Italian mainland from Tarentum to Brundisium, and at Posidonia, along the Tyrrhenian, central Italy was without coinage. Towards the end of the sixth century, and according to some authorities, at the beginning of the fifth, coining commences with the Euboeic system. In Greek numismatics, the question of the different systems, as regards an analysis of their origin and the manner in which they were introduced among the people and adopted by them, is of prime importance. The study, based as it is on weight,

presents many difficulties. The Aegenetic system (used by Aegina and Chalcis) was founded on the heavy silver drachma *(pacheja)* of 6.2 grams. The light drachma *(lepte)* of 4.36 grams and afterwards reduced to 4.32 grams, was the standard of the Euboeic system, adopted in Athens.

The various systems naturally had to meet all the commercial requirements of the time and as a result were in a continuous state of fluctuation. Kyme, for instance, as has been noted, at first adopted the Euboeic-Attic system (500 B. C.). The oldest coin is a drachma of 5.42 grams, which has on one side the remnants of a lion's head between the heads of two wild boars, suspended as votive offerings. But the system was soon changed, and after having coined the didrachma and Euboeic oboles, similar coins were produced on the Phocian system. The transition did not come suddenly, nor without experiment. Discoveries in the necropolis show how largely Kyme was supplied by the merchants of Asia Minor and Athens, although it is probable that the products reached them indirectly by way of Sicily, Velia, Rhegium, and up to 490 B. C., even through the Phoenicians. Kyme in turn became a distributing center for her imports. This explains her hesitancy in the selection of a monetary system. It appears that

(Fig. 31)

The principal types of Cumaean coins.

Euboeic and Phocian coinage were contemporaneous, the latter finally prevailing. The system introduced by the Phocians into Velia and by the Achaeans into Posidônia, was afterwards common to all the cities of Campania, and through Kyme, spread into Latium.

When Kyme began to coin, she was not only bound to the Aegean countries by commercial interests, as has been explained, but by artistic traditions. The types of the coins, while they can hardly bear comparison with others of Magna Graecia, present certain analogies with the elektron and silver series of Greece. But those didrachmas on which appear a female head of the statuary type are far from approaching the coins of Magna Graecia on which is observed a head of conventional design.

The various types of coins may be grouped according to a few principal features. Many have on the obverse, a head in the archaic manner, with the oval of the face quite prolonged and the eyes indicated by two arched lines in relief, while the curls are represented by a number of tiny balls. The oldest are of a good style, in which one marks a little carelessness. Then follow the beautiful heads which recall those of Syracuse and known as *Demareteia,* from Damarata, the wife of

Gelon. It is as confusing to attempt to give a name to those heads as it is to identify the numerous statues of female figures stripped of attributes and symbols. Eckhel suggests the name of the siren Parthenope. Others think that it is the sibyl. Milligen sees in it the personification of the city and observes that some of these heads are surrounded by the inscription **Kyme,** while on the reverse is to be read **Kumaion.** According to this interpretation, the Cumaeans have shown on their coins the image of the nymph **Kyme,** whom they venerated as the tutelar deity of the city.

Practically all of the coins have on their reverse a simple bivalvular shell with the legend **Kyme**, or a shell on which rests a polypus, a marine turbine, a fish, a *pistrice,* a five-pointed star fish, or a serpent. In the same position also appear a dog similar to the Pomeranian, the monster Scylla with the tail of a *pistrice* and surrounded by barking dogs, a screech owl, a gull, a stalk of barley and two-headed Cerberus. The religious significance of Cerberus is attested by a geographical poem of Scymmus of Chio, which mentions the Rubicon as being near Lake Avernus, famous for its *upochtonion manteion*, or subterranean oracle. This coin and another type bear the mark ⟨ which is the initial of the engraver.

It will be seen that the shell *(mitylus pectun)* is the predominant symbol of the mints of the marine towns. Other symbols are the sea crab, grasping between its claws the oyster; mice, lobsters, and a three or four spoked wheel. As the coinage hints at the nature of the soil, the frog could allude to the shifting lagoons beneath the city. The galley would seem to indicate the celebrity of the Chalcidians (*chàlcós*=copper) as skilled workers in copper and iron. According to others,

(Fig. 32)

The crab and the mollusk. The most remarkable nature study depicted in the whole range of ancient art.

it refers to the galley that the Titans gave to Pluto, to whom the place was sacred. The coin with the Corinthian helmet (one variant of the type is of dubious authenticity) was the only one coined in gold (plate 31, 1). The others were of silver; there were none of copper. The output of coins at Kyme was never very abundant, but towards the close of the fifth century there is a certain appreciable increase.

Sometimes on the obverse of coins of the Euboeic

system, the head of Athene, with or without the *aulopide*, appears in place of the head of the nymph. The reverse of this type of coin is very interesting (fig. 32). The ancients believed the crab to be a parasite, sharing its food with the mollusk. Milligen holds that this idea is represented. Oppiano on the other hand refers to an old belief according to which the crab, in order to capture and devour the oyster, waited until the shell separated and then dropped a pebble between the valves. But even if the figuration depicts a crab trying to pry open an oyster with its claws, it is the most remarkable instance of nature study within the whole range of ancient art.

The coins of the Cerberus type already mentioned, are closely related to those of Cyzicus, Asia Minor. Asiatic origin is also apparent in the coins bearing the heads of three wild beasts. Milligen associates them with the desire of the Cumaeans to possess the teeth of the wild boar, Erymanthus, slain by Herakles. According to Pausanias, in his history of the Arcadians, the teeth were kept in the temple of Apollo. In treating of the different wild beasts, Avellino thought they were those into which men had been changed by the enchantress Circe. Cavedoni is inclined to believe that they allude to the occupation of Di-

(Fig. 33)

Other Cumaean coins.

chearchia by the inhabitants of Samos, or to an alliance between them and the Cumaeans.

One type alone refers unquestionably to a historic event. It commemorates the help which the Cumaeans received from Hiero of Syracuse and the victory, (indicated by the laurel on the obverse of the coin) gained over the Etruscans (474 B.C.). On the obverse also, is a woman's head of the archaic style, with her hair held by a band of pearls. The reverse shows the usual shell with four prancing dolphins, characteristic of the coins of Syracuse.

Another type, not datable, was believed to record a treaty. This theory, which now receives but little credit, is deduced from the opposition of two coins, one, following the Campanian types, using the inscription **Kumenis,** and the other, changing the epigraph to **Fiscinis,** — an alliance therefore between Kyme and Fistlus. The money bearing this name heretofore attributed to Dichearchia or Puteoli (today Pozzuoli), is now perhaps more reasonably assigned to Fistelia, a town situated on the borders of Samnium and Campania.

But to Kyme befell in 421 B.C., the fate that later overtook most of the flourishing cities of Magna Graecia. With subjection to Rome, numbers of Italian mints were suppressed. Even after the

Campanian-Samnium occupation however, Kyme continued to coin, but the finest coins belonged to the epoch of her independence. I shall have occasion to return to this subject when considering the fact that Rome granted to Kyme only a partial citizenship, *civitas sine suffragio*, or, without direct vote. Now, the right of coinage presupposed a certain degree of autonomy, such as the " *sine suffragio* " cities did not possess.

FOUNDATION OF NAPLES AND OTHER COLONIES.

Before we leave the discussion of the turn of events by which Kyme lost her character of a Greek city, I wish to indicate her colonization activities. Of the founding of the distant town of Zankle, I have already spoken. Now we shall see that from the most ancient times there is noted a penetration of Hellenic activity in the Valley of the Sarno. Attention, too, has been called to the relation between the Cumaean furnishings and those discovered in the tombs of S. Marzano and of S. Valentino. The necropolis of Nola (from *Novla*, new city), presents ample proof of Cumaean trade.

It is thought that the two cities were connected

by means of a direct road and that through Nola were maintained relations with the Valley of the Sarno. The civil superiority of the colonists to the natives is indisputable. The former brought with them not only the principles of an advanced industrial and maritime technique, but the germs of an intellectual development and a superior art, nourished by the rich current of Greco-Oriental culture with which they had been in contact. Yet, the difference was not so great as to prevent their mingling, and even living together.

As regards the affinity of the vases, Nola, or rather that primitive group of dwellings which preceded the "new town", is held to be a Cumaean colony. Nola, in fact, according to the statements of Pompeus Trogus, was believed to have been founded by the Chalcidians, though an opinion which is derived from Velleius Paterculus attributes to it an Etruscan origin.

Through the rapid development of their republic, the Cumaeans had need of ample and secure ports; the splendid harbor of the gulf of Pozzuoli offered an opportunity of the desired kind. Strabo relates that they even constructed an arsenal there. Afterwards, as we read in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, a colony of Samos people in order to escape the tyranny of Polycrates and his

group, occupied the Puteolian land and founded there Dikaiarchia (government of justice), afterwards called Puteoli by the Romans. But presumably, the city was founded under the auspices of the Cumaeans, whose commercial power was at that time threatened by the Etruscans, Umbrians and Daunians. And because Dikaiarchia was not wholly autonomous, but dependent upon Kyme, it was in effect, a colony. Other colonies were Cimetra in Irpinia, and Procida in the island of the same name. But the greatest glory of Kyme was that she had given origin to Neapolis, the city of the gulf, which receiving and keeping alive the flame of Hellenic civilization through the ages to our own day, was destined to fulfill in Lower Italy a civil mission of which no example exists in ancient history except that of Rome, whose fortunes she was soon to share.

Within a few centuries, the historians, amid heated controversy, were asking what was the *Phaléru tursis* (city of Phalero) whither Parthenope had been carried by the waves, and where was Paleopolis, and what was its relation to the "new city" (Neapolis), and if it had been founded by the Cumaeans, by the Chalcidians, or by the Athenians.

The investigation presents many difficulties. Ac-

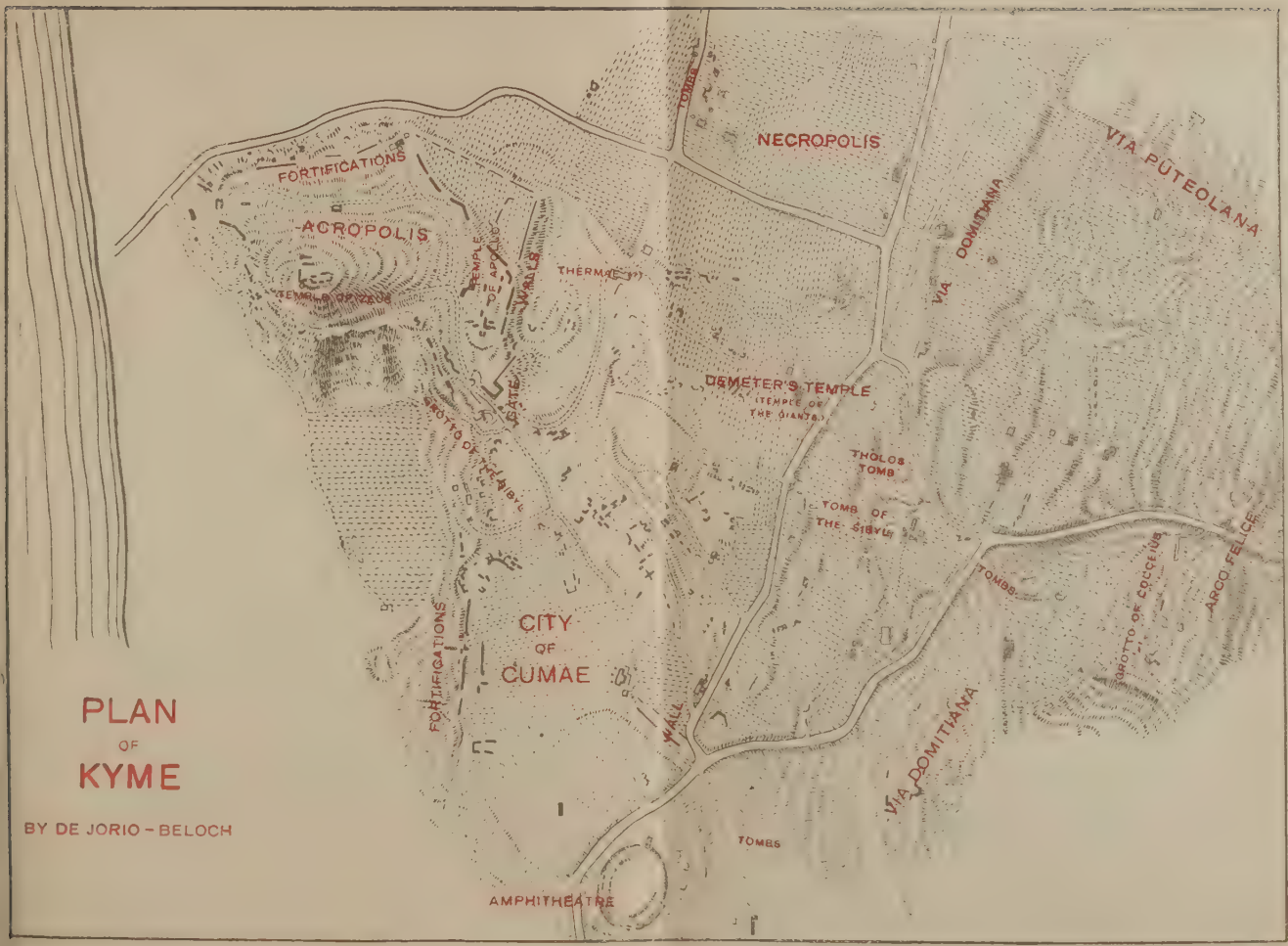
cording to some authors, the Phalero mentioned by Lycophron was a simple rock or a Pelasgian town, having had this name originally, or deriving it from the homonymous port of Athens or from Phalero, the mythical representation of Greek colonization. Phalero would have been distinct from Parthenope, which was then destroyed, and rebuilt under the appelation "new", while Phalero itself had taken the name of Paleopolis (old city).

Others deny that Phalero ever existed, and admit instead, the historic reality of Parthenope. They fix the nucleus of the city around the tomb of the siren of the same name, or in the midst of the present pulsating city of Naples on the site of S. Giovanni Maggiore; others place it on the commanding heights of Pizzofalcone and the rock of Megaris. In any case, Parthenope would not have had sufficient time in which to leave traces of its life. Some scholars even question the existence of Parthenope, and see in it only the poetic name by which Naples was designated. Lutatius relates, however, that a Cumaean colony was established at Parthenope and that very soon afterwards, the Cumaeans fearing that the city built by them might through its advantageous situation bring harm to the metropolis destroyed the growing town. In punishment for this grave offense, Kyme

was afflicted with a pestilence and the Cumaeans could not drive the terrible scourge beyond their walls until they began to carry out the advice of the sibyl which imposed the reconstruction of the destroyed city as the "new city", or Neapolis.

But according to traditional custom, following the rebuilding of Neapolis, the first town built by the Cumaeans, and even Kyme itself, as some are inclined to believe, would naturally have been called the "old town", and designated as Paleopolis or Palepolis, in the common, if not in the official language. The name of Paleopolis appears neither in epigraphic monuments nor on coins. Only Livy, writing of a war with Rome in 327 B. C., mentions it as a city not far from Naples, and no argument stands in the way of our assuming its location to have been on Pizzofalcone and extending down the hill to the Bay of Santa Lucia, as far as the place where now rises the vast structure of Castel Nuovo.

Without lingering on a repetition of the various hypotheses that from time to time have been advanced by historians and archaeologists, I may state that the influence of Kyme in the origin and development of Naples cannot be denied. It is amply attested by Strabo, by other classic texts, and by the record of the Cumaean Brotherhood


PLAN
OF
KYME
BY DE JORIO - BELOCH
FORTIFICATIONS
ACROPOLIS
TEMPLE OF APOLLO
WALLS
THERMAE (?)
TOMBS
NECROPOLIS
VIA PUTEOLANA
VIA DOMITIANA
DEMETER'S TEMPLE
(TEMPLE OF THE GIANTS)
THOLOS TOMB
TOMB OF THE SIBYL
GATE
GROTTO OF
CITY
OF
CUMAE
FORTIFICATIONS
WALL
TOMBS
GROTTO OF COCCEIUS
ARCO FELICE
AMPHITHEATRE

which probably had its seat where now stands S. Maria della Rotonda, and on the ruins of which was built the extreme wing of the Palazzo of Casacalenda (corner of the Piazza of S. Domenico Maggiore).

It is certain, moreover, that many Cumaeans rushed to Naples after the Samnites had taken their city as though to their own fatherland. And it was from there, through their efforts combined with those of the Chalcidians, Rodii and Athenians, that Hellenism penetrated into Latium and opened to Rome the road of culture and of a more refined civilization.

SACRED AND PROFANE EDIFICES.

It will be well to glance at Kyme's sacred and profane edifices and the various forms of worship practised in the city. Among the most ancient, which came with the earliest Aegean commerce, some authors include the cult of the ax, to which perhaps allude the sculptured implements in the vault of the sibyl's cave although Dall'Osso attributes them to the neolithic age. But the problem is worthy of the deepest investigation.

It is beyond all doubt, on the other hand, that the cult of Zeus Olympus was brought to Kyme

with the first colonists and that in the city the tutelar deity of the Chalcidians had a worthy temple. Livy (XXVII, 23) clearly refers to its existence there. As early as 1792, De Jorio recognized among some ruins on the summit of Mount Cuma, those of a temple. And even today one catches glimpses of the tufa blocks of the stereobate in the thicket, with here and there, a bit of brick work construction and of reticulated walls, revealing, as Gabrici points out, the meeting of two epochs, — the Greek and the Roman. In presenting his hypothesis concerning the temple of Jove, Beloch properly excludes the presence of a second temple to Apollo and maintains that a temple placed in such a site of honor could have been dedicated to none other than the father of the gods. But only the excavations (which Prof. Maiuri plans soon to undertake) could confirm such a theory. Meanwhile another temple is generally associated with the name of Jove. Until a short time ago, one could see just before reaching the acropolis, the remains of a temple with a great central *lacunare*, or niche, and two square lateral niches (fig. 34); the vault of coarse bricks was divided into squares. De Jorio believes that this temple was situated in the Cumaean forum. In any event the structure testified to the modest simplicity of the

(Fig. 34)

So-called temple of the Giants. From an engraving of the XVIII century.

early times. To the left was an old arched building, possibly a columbarium. Today, the whole mass of masonry has been reduced to a cellar and has lost its original aspect because it is partly surrounded and covered with modern construction. In the central niche was found a colossal bust of Jove (fig. 35), a mediocre sculpture of the first century of the empire. Placed in the piazza of the royal palace, it took the popular title of *Gigante di Palazzo*, (Giant of the Palace) from the Viceroy Don Pietro d'Aragona. In the course of the years, the phrase echoed with equal force in the anonymous satirical sayings of the famous "Pasquino" of Rome.

But the glory of Jove was obscured by the ideal "leader" of the colony, by Apollo, a sun divinity, unknown to the peoples of Italy. I have elsewhere referred to the legend of Daidalos, builder of the temple dedicated to Apollo. Today, nothing remains of the primitive Greek temple. A century ago, De Jorio found fragments of columns of pure Doric style. Through circumstances unknown to us, either on the ruins of the Greek edifice, as excavations now in progress seem to demonstrate, or a short distance from it, the Romans built a new temple, the remains of which excavated by Spinazzola, are still visible. Extending from north

to south, the edifice opened on the east through a quadrangular vestibule. The bases of the columns, of the Ionic order, measure about a metre in height. The pavement was discovered in its entirety and the design may be recomposed. On the east and on the west of the cella there is a row of six columns, while the north and south façades have four. The temple is therefore *tetrastilo perittero*, oriented after the Tuscan manner, with a projecting side entrance. The basement is formed of two and even more series of large tufa parallelepipedon. A radical transformation necessarily took place in the first century of the empire since the stereobate of the Greek temple was at that time raised to the Roman level. In 1817 were discovered five steps of white marble, together with an ara, bases, capitols, and cornice ornaments with graceful foliage in bas-relief and the lyre repeated in various shapes. The inscription of the ara *(Apollini Cumano A. Tineius Rufus)* leaves no doubt as to the divinity to whom the temple was dedicated. It is not improbable that the structure served as a cathedral in the time of the first Christians; for with great pomp and ceremony, it is said, Anselmo, Archbishop of Naples, went there in 1207 to collect the remains of martyrs, which he deposited in the Castro Lucullano.

Livy tells of a remarkable incident attributed to the power of the statue of the Cumaean Jove, in the year 208 B. C., during the battle of Metaurus. A miracle is also related of a colossal wooden statue of Apollo, which through the artifices of the astute priests was made to weep with great show of emotion whenever a danger threatened the Greek people.

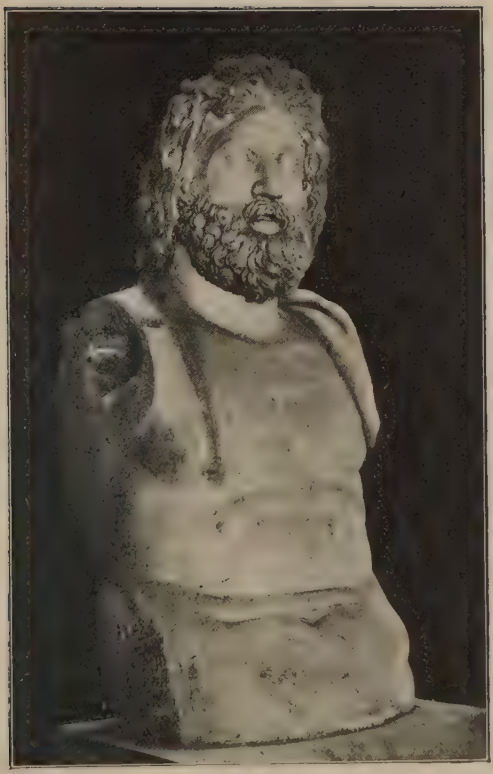
At the time when a war broke out between the Romans and the Achaeans, the statue cried for six days, displaying signs of deep sorrow on the Achaeans' defeat. Since the population remained terrified, the priests determined to throw the deity into the sea, but the Cumaean senate opposed the execution of the sacred decree and reported that the prodigy was not a new one. It appears in fact, from the public registers, that in the year 58 B. C., the statue fell into a similar state of grief which lasted for three days. The Romans interpreted the phenomenon as a favorable sign indicative of the victory which they then won over Antioch and the Persians; in gratitude, they sent rich gifts to the weeping Apollo of Kyme.

The decree was suspended and the nobles and plebians began to doubt the wisdom and divining powers of the priests, and even accused them of ignorance. In an effort to interpret the mysterious

omen, they therefore consulted the Roman priests. The latter, after examining the facts, answered that the portent augured good fortune for the Romans. They pointed out that as Kyme was a Greek colony, the Apollo's tears signified the defeat of the Greeks. Shortly afterwards, this interpretation was confirmed by the victory of the Romans.

In all ages humanity has felt the profound need of finding out the will of the deity. The revelation of the divine will has been recognized either through signs spontaneously offered to man or those provoked by him. To the first category belong such natural phenomena as the thunder, lightning, eclipse, earthquakes, etc. Dreams, and the turning of the flight of birds towards the east, presaged good fortune. The signs that were provoked were obtained by an examination of the victims of sacrifice.

But assuming first place in the forecasts of antiquity was the oracle, a kind of popular *mantica* or divination, by means of which the deity not only responds to those who ask questions concerning the future but also to those who seek advice. Oracles were everywhere, but particularly where subterranean openings were available. The most famous oracle of antiquity was that of Apollo in the wild and barren seclusion of Delphi beneath the heights of Parnassus. When the virgin Pythia was seated



(Fig. 35)

Zeus. The so-called " Giant of the Palace ".

(Photo National Museum, Naples).

on a gold tripod she fell into an ecstatic trance by inhaling the fumes as they issued from a fissure in the earth. Her words and disconnected sounds were recorded by prophets who stood near as well as by a sacred college. The utterances were then divided into hexameters, the ambiguity and obscurity of which usually saved the cautious priests from posthumous blame or ridicule.

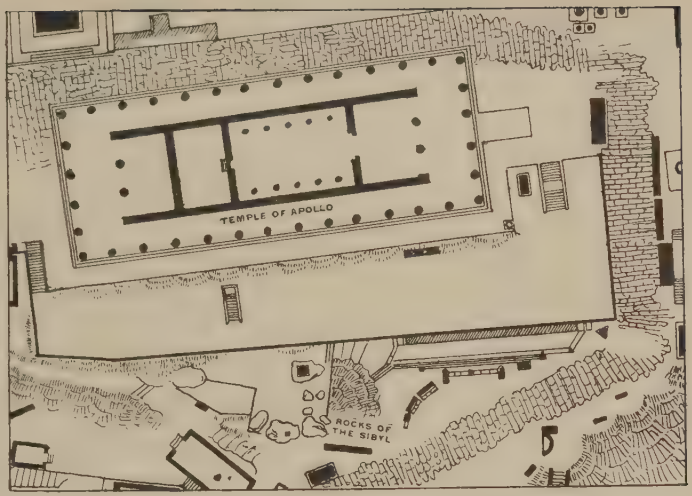
In the following chapter, I shall speak of the sibyl, priestess of the prophetic god, and herself a divinity. The place assigned to the oracles was nearly always under the temple of Apollo, as was the case at Delphi (fig. 36). While this book is in press, systematic excavations are being made in the cave from which flowed the mysterious stream of sibylline wisdom over an expanse of a thousand years. Here, met and mingled the diverse currents of abstruse metaphysical presentiment of the people of Asia and of Europe, to issue forth together from the bosom of the same earth.

At Kyme, there was also the cult of Demeter, closely related to the foundation of the city. Beloch identified her temple with that popularly called the temple of the Giants. His hypothesis is based on the fact that in the vicinity were found some tomb stones that record the Luccei, the same who caused the temple of Demeter to be restored.

Moreover, the temples of Demeter were usually placed beyond the city walls, not far from the necropolis.

Although the temple called *Mater dea Bajana,* was in Baiae, the cult of Cybele belonged to Kyme. In honor of the Mother of the Gods, whose worship was commanded by the sibylline books, was attached a college of eighty-seven dendrophori, probably appointed by the municipal assembly and doubtless confirmed and supervised by the *XV viri sacris faciundis* of Rome. The dendrophori (bearers of the tree) constituted, during the empire, a combined religious and industrial association. The principal office of the dendrophori was that of solemnly carrying a sacred pine to the temple of the Magna Mater, at the spring equinox. The tree was held to be the one under which Attis, the cold, unfaithtul lover of the goddess, was deprived of life, and into which, out of compassion, his spirit was permitted to pass.

The college of the dendrophori probably did not have a fixed seat. Through the holding of an election of a *sacerdos* in a temple dedicated to Vespasian, was revealed the existence of that other temple, one of the many reared to the emperor, after his apotheosis. A graffito inscription on a vase leads Minervini to believe with good reason,



(Fig. 35)

Plan of temple of Apollo at Delphi.

that in Kyme, there was also a temple dedicated to Hera.

Not long ago, was found a tufa slab bearing a Greek inscription (fig. 37) which read: "It is not permitted to bury here those who are not initiates". Belonging, like that other Cumaean epigraph which says: "In this tomb lies an initiate", to the early ages of the religion which spread triumphantly throughout the whole Greek world, it is the stela which must have been placed originally at the entrance or at the boundary of a burial ground reserved exclusively for initiates to the Orphic mysteries. It is similar to the small metal plate found at Sybaris, reading: "I come to you, pure, among the pure, O Queen of death". The purification was obtained, as has been noted, through the lustral rites.

The monographist of this stela believes that it dates from the epoch when the society of *Mystoi* or *thiastotai* flourished in Kyme undisturbed by prohibitory laws. They could thus freely function and dispose of their correligionists without contaminating burial. This tranquil period, it is pointed out, could have been only after the tyranny of Aristodemos and before the Samnite invasion.

In 1839 there was brought to light a temple dedicated to an Egyptian deity, built about the first or second century A. D. In it was found

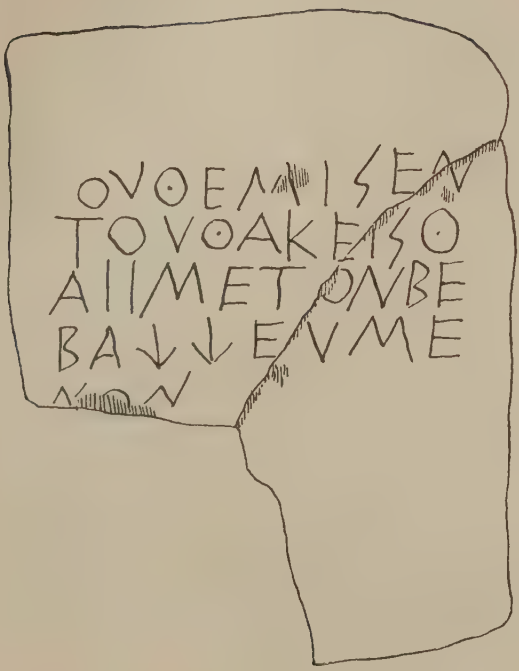
a statue of Anubis wearing a mantle, (National Museum, Naples), besides various torsos of excellent workmanship.

Few are the remains or vestiges of public buildings and places. I have already mentioned the Forum which Vitruvius hints was in the vicinity of the temple of the Giants.

The ruins of the amphitheatre are in a deplorable condition. All that is now left of it is a big depression in the soil covered with a vineyard; here and there, the tendrils of the vines push their way through little heaps of broken stone. Only in the enclosing wall a few well preserved arches can still be seen. The structure measures about 110 metres long (a trifle smaller than that of Pozzuoli) by about 160 metres wide and is graded in twenty-one steps.

Behind the amphitheatre, was excavated in 1842, a Roman *aedicula*. The entrance was found facing the amphitheatre. Four Doric columns of stucco adorned its front portico, which measures 4.70 metres in breadth. The cella is 13 $^{1}_{2}$ metres in length. In its lateral walls of stone and brick there were seven pilasters, and in the rear wall, four. In the center of the cella there is a quadrangular altar, covered with marble.

Rising on the open plain, and below the Cu-



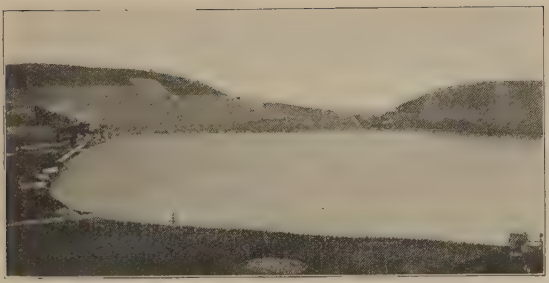
(Fig. 37)

Sepulchral inscription :
" It is not permitted to bury here those who are not initiates ". (to the Orphic Mysteries).

maean ditch, are ruins that with good reason are believed to have been baths, for the rooms are contiguous and have mosaic pavements.

And finally, we come to a construction of a later period than that of which I have been speaking, — to the majestic Arco Felice (fig. 54). About 20 metres in height and 6 metres in breadth, it discloses from one side and from the other, two superb panoramas. Its material is sturdy brick. Some scholars believe that it was the first gate of the entrance to the *pomerium* of Kyme. If so, it was never closed or opened because there are no traces of hinges. Others think that it belonged to an aqueduct; the niches and the ornaments of the upper part lead others to believe that on it a temple had been constructed. The most plausible opinion seems to be that the cut in the hill was made in order to facilitate its ascent, while, to prevent the falling of the earth on the roadway, the passage was enriched with this magnificent arch. Beloch holds that it could have been constructed previous to Domitian.

AMONG THE SHADOWS OF MYSTERY



" Unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornon " (Virg. VI, 242).
The Lake of Avernus seen from Via Domitiana.

ORACLES AND SIBYLS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD.

..... ad Avernales scopulos et opaca Sibyllae
antra, rogaturae veniebant undique gentes.
Stat. *Silv. V. 3, 172.*

As though from the light, — if only the feeble one afforded by the reading of the classic texts and the examination of the archaeological remains,— we now penetrate that shadowy realm of the oracle, where the road will naturally be less secure and where we must be more guarded. The sources and the opinions are many and diverse; my effort will be to collect and to unify them and to eliminate those that are manifestly contradictory. Indeed, a

similar uncertainty existed in antiquity, when not even the number of the sibyls was known with any degree of exactness. The oldest sibyl of all, perhaps, must be sought in the book of Nature. Her prophecies were the voices of the trickling waters and the winds, moaning through the clefts of the rocks, with a resonance that sometimes seemed to assume the articulation of intelligible words. Later, when man wished to give human form to this fanciful prophetic power, he imagined that the first priestess of Apollo had come to the temple of Delphi from Helicon, where she had been a pupil of the Muses. The mythological mother of the original sibyl was the nymph Hydole.

The most probable etymology of *sibyl* is that it was formed from two words, *Sios,* for *theos* (God), and *bola* or *boule*, will, advice.

But how many sibyls were there? Had they, first of all, that historical personality admitted by many and denied by Klausen and others? Let us examine the opinions of various authors. Tacitus and St. Augustine believe there was only one sibyl and that *sibyl* could have been her own name; Martianus Capella holds there were two; Solinus, Ausonius and Phileta Ephesus, three; while Pausanias and Aelianus fix the number at four. Varro, quoted by Lactantius, gives us an

accurate catalogue of the sibyls which I shall enumerate in the same order.

The first was the Chaldean or Persian, called Sambete, who is said to have prophesied the deeds of Alexander the Great, as we read in his life written by Nicator. The second was the Libyca (or Libyssa) mentioned by Euripides. The third was the Delphic, so-called from her native country, and of whom Chrysippus speaks in his *De Divinatione*. The fourth was called Italica or Cimmeria, to whom Evander, son of Hermes, built a temple *(fanum)* for the Lupercalia festivals. The fifth was Erythrea, who, according to the testimony of Apollodorus, foretold the Trojan war. The sixth was the Samia, also known as Pythia, of whom Eratosthenes wrote. The seventh was the celebrated Cumaean sibyl, whose name was Amalthea, Herophile, or Taraxandra. Virgil calls her Deiphobe and states that she was the daughter of Glaukos. The eighth was the Hellespontic or Gergithian, having been born in the village of Marmesso near Gergithi, and of her, Heraklides Ponticus has left a record. The ninth was the Phrygian. The tenth and last was the Tiburtina, called Albunea. In the gorge of the Tibur, was found an image representing her as holding the "uninjured" book of destiny: the statue was kept in the Capi-

toline. Thus, in antiquity there were no less than ten sibyls and in the Middle Ages the number rose to twelve!

THE SIBYLS: CUMEA AND CUMANA.

Without dwelling on the biographic particulars, however fantastic, of the different sibyls, I shall say something in regard to the one or several that prophesied at Kyme. Disgusted with the disorders in Attica, the sibyl abandoned the island and went to the recently founded Kyme; in consequence she was called Cumea. There, with greater peace of mind, she exercised her ministery, when her countrymen, moved either by envy or by pity, sent her a letter written on a tablet of chalk. At the sight of it she died from emotion. Her ashes were preserved in the temple of Apollo in a small urn that the priests showed to the people. The hillock of the so-called "tomb of the sibyl" which is pointed out to the traveller on the plains of Licola seems also to refer to this seer. Another sibyl, known as the Cumaean or Cimmeria, was probably buried (Isidorus, *Origines*, VIII, 8), in Sicily, near Lilybaeum (today Marsala?). She was the most famous sibyl of antiquity, and under the names of Italica or Lucana, seems to have lived four

centuries later, or in the time of the Tarquins, kings of Rome. The first reference to this learned and sagacious prophetess is read in the *De Mirabilibus* of the pseudo-Aristotle. Nevius mentions her in his history of the Punic wars; likewise Piso Censorius in the *Roman Annals*. I shall speak of later testimony in the course of this chapter.

Hyperocus, an old historian of Kyme, says that the sibyl's name was Demo. Others call her Demophile or Herophile, names that had already been given to earlier sibyls. Virgil (*Aen.*, VI, 36) speaks of her as Deiphobe, but evidently in poetical expression, since her proper name seems to have been Amalthea. Prophetic power was in her blood, for she was the daughter of the marine god Glaukos, whose effigy we see engraved on the coins of Kyme. Born in Anthredon, (Boeotia) where, according to the legend, he was a fisherman, it is related of him that one day, having thrown a dead fish on the grass, he saw it revive and became so excited over the fact that he at once flung himself in the sea. There, he was graciously welcomed by Okeanos and Thetis. Having been purged of human weakness, he was placed amongst the marine gods, receiving the name *Glaukos* (blue wave) and the prodigious gift of prophecy. Just as Manto (etymologically expres-

sing *divination*, was the daughter of the seer Teiresias, so Amalthea was the daughter of Glaukos. Others, however, claim that she was the daughter of Glaukos, son of Minos, and still others, the daughter of Neptune and of a naiad who used to prophesy to the sailors. The tradition assigned to her a genealogy, but could give her no descendant for she was imagined to be a virgin.

Virgil, whose art has created the sibyl's most beautiful monument, has left us very few details concerning her. But another great Latin poet, Ovid, who repeated the Virgilian theme of Aeneas' descent to the infernal regions, has preserved in his exquisite verses the current legends woven around this infallible interpreter of the will of the gods. The Trojan hero had already seen the wealth of Pluto and the punishments of Tartarus. While returning to earth along the dark road, he says to the sibyl: " Whether you be a goddess or a spirit beloved of the gods, I, on my return to the light, shall honor you as a goddess, and bear your memory in my heart always!" The sibyl replied: " I am a mortal and through my own fault, before long, this body will be dust. When I was young and beautiful Phoebus became enamoured of me and wooed me with impassioned words ". 'To show you how much I love you, 'he said', ask

the gift that you most cherish and desire and you shall have it!' 'I answered: I desire to be united body and soul for as many years as the number of grains of sand that I hold in my hand!' But I was very young, and did not understand his offer; I should have asked to remain eternally young. Apollo persisted. 'The favour that you have asked is of little worth, but to improve it I shall prolong your youth, and not until you are one hundred years old will you become withered, useless and infirm'. I was then a little more than fifteen years of age; I was agile and quick and vivacious. Scorning the suit of Apollo, I did not return his love. My charming youth made me heedless; I believed that it would never end. Thus, despising the gift of the fair god, I remained without consort or lover. Now my beauty has vanished, and I am left ill, weak and trembling; but the worst of my misfortune is that death is still far away. I must await the termination of the age that I myself sought and live another three hundred of the thousand years I was granted. Time, which grows more cruel with the advance of the years, exhausts this body to such an extent that eventually nothing will be left of me but my voice, — the only thing that heaven wishes to make immortal. The oracle will not be extinguished!".

From this autobiographical fragment which we owe to Ovid, it appears that the sibyl had never been possessed by Apollo who, notwithstanding his repulse, conceded her the gift of prophecy. This seems quite improbable. A more likely interpretation would be that it depended upon a later concession of the sibyl. For, in remote antiquity, she was considered as the sacred bride of the god and it was supposed that in the mystical union she had been infused with the science of forecasting the future. The sibyl was held to be a virgin and pregnant at the same time, a concession that resists contradictions only when its origins are entwined in the dense underbrush of the ravine of mystery, but which becomes feeble enough when the mysticism has vanished.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS.

It is narrated that an old woman, preserving her incognito, arrived in Rome in the fiftieth Olympiad and presenting herself to King Tarquin (the Proud or the Elder?) offered to sell to him for three hundred philippi of gold, nine books containing the oracles, or the destiny of the world. The king refused to pay a sum that seemed enormous. The woman burned three of the books

in his presence and offered him the remaining volumes for the same price. When the king, unwon and still scornful, refused again, the woman calmly consigned another three books to the flames and renewed her offer under the same conditions. Whereupon, the king bewildered by such persistency, acquired the three last books for the price originally demanded and requested her moreover to rewrite the books that were burned. But the woman answered that she could not reproduce them nor could she even tell what they contained unless the god would inspire her.

Tarquin had the books jealously guarded in the Capitoline, entrusting them to two patricians called *Duumviri sacris faciundis,* (citizens dedicated to a sacred charge). In time, these Duumviri became ten, (Decemviri), and later, fifteen (Quindecemviri), a real college of priests, who not only guarded the oracles, but executed what they prescribed. In tormenting hours of doubt Rome deemed it necessary to consult the oracles, with the result that frequently it fell to their lot to direct the course of history.

Not all were eligible to read in the Sibylline Books. Tarquin ordered Marcus Atilius to be sown in a sack and thrown in the sea because he had permitted someone to copy them. Caesar entrusted

a copy to the Pontifices who were worn out in public service. Only those who possessed four hundred sesterces and who had been admitted legally to public office had the right to consult them. The fact that the books were kept in historic times in a subterranean chamber of the Capitoline explains why the legend brought them in relation with the rulers to whom was attributed the foundation of that temple. Its consecration dates from the first year of the Republic, and accepting this as the certain date of the origin of Kyme, the introduction of the books is made to coincide with the years in which the common lot against the Etruscans increased Cumaean influence in Latium, approximately 500 B. C.

But which of the Tarquins bought the prophetic books? If the date of the Fiftieth Olympiad be exact, the acquisition would have been made by Tarquin the Elder, whose rule marks the appearance of the Etruscans in Latium. But there are good reasons to believe that the purchaser was Tarquin the Proud, in which case it is necessary to assign a later date.

Passing over such minor controversial issues as, were there nine books or three and was their number therefore reduced to three or to one, and were they really paid for in three hundred pieces of

gold *(aurei)*, — the philippi were earlier by two centuries, — there still remains an important question. Did the Cumaean sibyl personally sell the books? The two hypotheses are that either Tarquin the Proud invented this tale for his own political ends or, that the seller upon completing the sale, disappeared without leaving a trace, having disguised herself as the sibyl merely in order to carry out her purpose. If the priestess of Apollo had sold the oracles, she surely would have been stained with the guilt of sacrilege. Kyme, through her magistrates, jealously guarded the oracles and permitted no copy to be removed to outside territory. Was the sibyl of Tarquin, then, one of those pseudo-sibyls, not uncommon in antiquity, whose destiny like Cassandra's, was that no one would believe their prophecies?

On the other hand, critical history cannot make its contribution towards the solution of the mystery, since the books were destroyed in 83 A. D., when the temple of Jove Capitolinus was burned. Those which Augustus caused to be preserved in the temple of Apollo, and which have reached our own day, are a later collection gathered by a commission that travelled through many lands in their quest.

Someone has even ventured to name Strabonicus

of Kyme as the author of the original verses, even though they frequently lacked metre and harmony. But their very faultiness serves to indicate that they were hastily strung together by the voice of the possessed sibyl who, when the inspiration had left her no longer remembered what she herself had said.

THE METHODS OF PROPHECY.

Così al vento delle foglie lievi
Si perdea la sentenza de Sibilla.
Dante, *Paradiso, XXXIII, 64-65.*

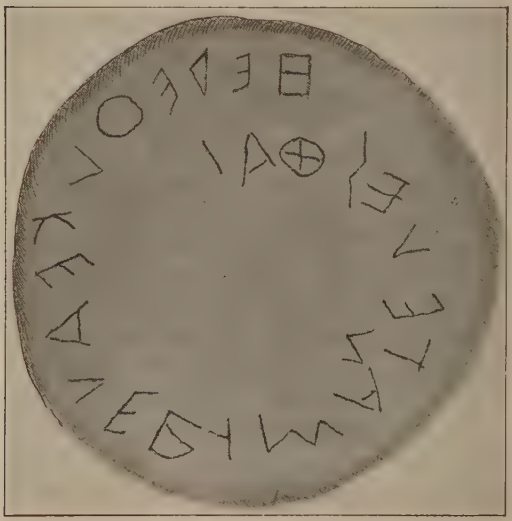
The sibyl used to prophesy in two ways, either vocally, or through writing. I have omitted the third way by " signs ", — probably none other than the Egyptian hieroglyphs. When she pronounced a prophecy, the sibyl would sit on a tripod either at the mouth of her recessed chamber, or, in its depths. Virgil poetically speaks of her voice, mysteriously resounding through a hundred corridors. When she did not give out the oracle by word of mouth she wrote them on palm leaves, the symbol of the rays of the sun, and placed them at the opening of her cave so that the priests might read and make them known. Others think that the leaves themselves, left to the mercy of the winds, formed a kind of document. It frequently happened that

the wind dispersed the leaves and the oracles were rendered void. For this reason Aeneas requests the sibyl to pronounce the oracle *viva voce*.

Few palm leaves of the Cumaean oracles have reached us. And one, coming to light by chance, would have been lost, had not Prof. Maiuri, Director of the National Museum of Naples, been able to read it. It is not a true palm leaf, (fig. 39) but a disc of bronze, (the property of Carafa d'Andria), and around its edge is written in characters attributed to the fifth century: " Hera does not permit oracles to be given out in the morning ". Hera was a lunar divinity, associated with the cult of Apollo. It is not known if the disc were itself an oracle or a sacred prescription, presented in the form of an oracle. Metallic discs had a sacred character. And the twilight hours were certainly the most suggestive ones in which to listen to the voice of destiny.

Each oracle commenced with the words: " The spirit of the god indicates ", and ended, "..... to sacrifice to Achelous". Donato says that the oracles were meaningless, and their language confused and unfathomable, because of their double sense. That the answers were often ambiguous, — today, " sibylline ", serves to express the idea of obscurity, — is true beyond all doubt. It is cer-

tain too, that with the march of the centuries, corruption and cheating became common in all of the oracles. But this was not their inheritance,



(Fig. 39)

Oracular disc: "Hera does not permit oracles to be given out in the morning".

and in their period of flowering, the prophecies were given in good faith.

In the classical world, prophecy was regarded as a science, — a fallacious science, but one that indeed satisfied the natural human desire to know the future. Often too, it lighted a ray of hope for to-morrow's happiness amidst to-day's adversities, bringing a little calm to raging passions. For religion, of whatever character, if it is a sincere experience, seldom fails to impart a revivifying breath to the spirit wearied from the struggle of life.

AENEAS CONSULTS THE SIBYL.

Et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris.
Virg. *Aen. VI. 2.*

The search for the will of the gods, as I have already observed, has been in all times, a profoundly felt need of humanity. Divinity early revealed itself either through signs later accepted as natural phenomena, — thunder, lightning, eclipse, earthquakes, — through the flight of birds which turning in their course to the east presaged fortune, or, through the examination of the victims of sacrifice. There were also the oracles, which were not only mediums of foretelling the future, but of giving advice as well. Princes and leaders, the learned and the ignorant, felt the need of consulting the oracles. Among them, the most famous in Italy

was that of the Cumaean sibyl and in her, faith was imposed even after the advent of Christianity. It is quite natural therefore, that Virgil in weaving his poem, should have imagined that Aeneas, the worship of whom, by a later interpolation, was recommended in the Sibylline Books, — had consulted the prophetess. The son of divine progenitors, after sailing unknown seas in search of a new country, eagerly desires to know his fate. Arriving on the Euboeic shores of Kyme, he leaves his companions to prepare the food and goes to the rock on which stands the temple of Apollo. He is admiring the doors sculptured by Daedalos when he sees the sibyl advancing with the faithful Achates, who had preceded him to announce his arrival. At once addressing the hero, she explains that this is not the time for rest, but for action. She then tells him that he must take from an intact flock seven fat bullocks and seven white lambs and sacrifice them. While the servants are fulfilling his commands, Aeneas enters the vast cave. From its profound and fearful depths, a hundred passages lead to a hundred gates. The virgin prophetess commences the oracular rite with an invocation to fate: "Numen our great Numen, is near!" The presence of the deity is about to enter her being. Gradually her expression alters and she loses her

(Fig. 40)

Aeneas consults the sibyl.

The sibyl advances with the faithful Achates and advises Aeneas that the hour for action has arrived.

color. Her hair hangs dishevelled and her body sways in a terrible paroxysm. The demon that possesses her does not conquer her without struggle; the hysterical virgin opposes the embrace of the god with violent resistance. Only when Apollo has fully aroused her and completely dominated her does she yield to the divine will. It is in this mystical embrace that does not pollute that the sibyl acquires her prophetic gift.

Aeneas invokes Apollo and promises a temple to the sibyl. He begs her not to entrust her prophecy to the leaves, to become the mockery of the winds, but to let it come forth from her lips. While he is thus pleading, the sibyl in the interior of the cavern wrestles with all her force to shake off the presence of the deity; but her efforts are vain. The "sacred nuptials" have been consummated. The hundred gates are opened and the prophecy is spoken: "Cruel and tremendous struggles await you. You shall reach the Tiber, but its waters will run red with blood. Another furious hero will pursue you, and the snares of the implacable Juno. But you will be superior to the fates and will nobly meet these trials!".

This episode is recorded also on a large lekythos of the last epoch of the art and probably of Cumaean make (fig. 40). In the center is the sibyl,

her head covered with a mitre, and her body completely enveloped in an unique mantle. She is depicted as responding to the questions of Aeneas, who has gone beyond the limits of the temple, indicated by a short pillar, having left outside another hero (Achates or Misenus), who carries in his hand a crown, — the symbolic offering to the divinity, or of the fated and approaching journey. At the shoulder of the sibyl is seen the Cumaean nymph. To make clear her personification of the place, one foot is placed on the Euboeic rock and in her hand she holds an oyster, the symbol of the city. The artist presented her in a tenia with hanging fringe, the attribute of those who have been made worthy of immortality, to denote that the sibyl was not a mortal person. A series of dots divides this group from the upper design of two female figures, between which there is a *kalathos*. One could represent Aphrodite, beloved mother of Aeneas, and the other, who carries a pyx, one of her companions.

In this connection, however, I am obliged to state that even Fiorelli, who made excavations on behalf of the Count of Syracuse and who first wrote a monograph on the lekythos, doubts that it treats of one of the usual allegories of the reward of the valorous after death. Brunn does not incline

towards the sibyl interpretation, on the ground that practically no memory of the local Italian myths have been preserved on the painted vases.

THE CAVERN OF ONE HUNDRED MOUTHS.

Procul este profani.
Virg. *Aen. VI, 258.*

In the days of Paganism, caves exerted a strong influence on the prophetic gift of the seers. There was for instance, the underground spirit which Psellus calls *hypoctonio*. Soil of a volcanic nature was deemed favorable to the development of the prophetic faculty, by means of a sort of communication with the internal fires. Arid, reddish ground and sulphureous emanations were found, for the most part, in the places where fancy placed the sibyls. The rocks of sinister aspect, the subterranean water which filtered through their dark channels with a dull roar, together with the volcanic phenomena, created the ideal environment in which mystery could project its shadows.

There are many grottoes in the Campi Flegrei that perforating the yellow tufa mass, often disclose from within the sombre recesses of the mountain, shafts of celestial light and radiant vistas of the sap-

phire sea. Whoever knows the region seldom fails to recognize in the descriptions of Virgil that grotto which still preserves the sibyl's name. Situated beneath the terrace on which rise the columns of the temple of Apollo, its topography is almost identical with that of the sibyl's cave below the temple of Apollo at Delphi, the classic land of divination. At the entrance of the cave, on the surface of the vault, are reliefs cut in the tufa, — a hatchet, a mall, an axe and four wedges. (fig. 41 and 42). Have the builders wished to depict the tools of their labor used in the construction of the grotto, or, were these sculptured designs of some symbolic import, as in the pre-Hellenic palace of Knossos? Arms were the first offerings made to the powers that were held to rule the earth. The votive axe was known even in the neolithic age, since there have been found numerous examples in friable sandstone. These could have served no practical purpose and the deduction is that they were used as votive offerings.

With the passing of the centuries, the cavern has changed its aspect. Today, we should look in vain for the hundred corridors of Virgil and the hundred portals through which issued as many re-echoing voices. And until archaeology lays bare its ancient secrets, we must content ourselves with

(Fig. 41)

Laborers' tools sculptured on the vault of the grotto.

the descriptions which the writers have left us.

The author of the *Cohortatio ad Graecos* saw the grotto in the fourth century when there was a great basilica (the vaulted chamber?) cut from the living rock, wherein the sibyl rendered the oracles. The Cumaeans showed him three *lavatoi* of stone; and even Pausanias on the faith of Hyperocus of Kyme, hints at the stone *hydrie*, where the priestess used to bathe. When she had made her ablutions, she robed herself in a peculiar stole and retired into the depths of the cave where there was a small temple with a polished pavement. Then seated on a throne, in the form of a tripod, and convulsed and trembling under the spell of the deity, she would pronounce the destiny of humanity. He also saw the small bronze sepulchre, placed high in the wall, in which were kept the ashes of the sibyl. The ruins indicate that the temple in which the ceremonies were prepared, was adorned with brightly polished marble. Up to the time of the pseudo-Justinus, to whom is ascribed the *Cohortatio*, the cave and temple seem to have been coordinated. The temple was then almost intact, the memory of its rites comparatively fresh, and the position of the cave in relation to it, quite clear.

Agathia, a Gothic writer, adds that the laby-

rinth was a hall of fame. The grotto preserved the apsis form, and enclosed like a gallery, descended abruptly towards the innermost recesses of the mountain.

Near the sibyl's grotto is a smaller and darker cavern (fig. 43), opening upon a subterranean passage which ascends steeply in the direction of the terrace where it terminates. The passage leads by means of rough steps, — a crudeness designed perhaps to more effectively create the atmosphere of superstitious awe, — to the terrace and there has been plainly blocked. This was done, doubtless, either because it had been replaced by another passage, or for reasons of security, since it led to the heart of the city. On the terrace there is a circular construction, possibly the entrance from the upper temple to the grotto of the sibyl, by a route that passed through the smaller grotto. It is a hypothesis that Gabrici advances very circumspectly and which only future excavation can confirm.

Carletti writing of his exploration of the sibyl's cave in 1787 says: "We observe two entrances, one above the other. The upper passage which extends, dark and ruinous, for about 260 feet, communicated with the temple. At its terminus it plunges into the second passage which seems

to be prolonged enough to reach to Avernus itself. Midway along this passage there is a doorway, and from this descends a curved and irregular flight of steps of very crude construction to the lower chamber. Here, we observe three rooms and three subterranean passages. The first chamber is at the left of the curving steps, and by means of other passages it communicates with the lower chamber. The second room is larger and at one time seems to have been entirely adorned with mosaics, etc.

While this book is in press, the excavation of the sibyl's cave is rapidly progressing under the direction of Prof. Maiuri and at the instigation of Minister Fedele. There has just been brought to light a very high vestibule, covered for two-thirds of its height with a screen of the imperial epoch. Previous to the excavation, the sides of the entrance were covered with *opus reticulatum* of irregularly cut and rough tufa blocks. On the left are niches which must have contained statues. One of these in fact has been unearthed, but in very bad condition. But how can we explain these walls of the Augustan age? With marvellous skill, the military architect Cocceius opened galleries throughout the whole region and certainly must have contaminated and broken into the cave of the sibyl.

But the military works of the Cumaean district becoming useless after the battle of Actium, Au-

(Fig. 42)
Bipenne sculptured on the vault of the grotta.

gustus thought perhaps, — and this is the hypothesis

of Maiuri, — that he would obliterate traces of the sacrilege of his architects by restoring the famous grotto and by making restitution to its cult.

IDEAS OF THE AFTER LIFE AND THE VIRGILIAN JOURNEY TO THE INFERNO.

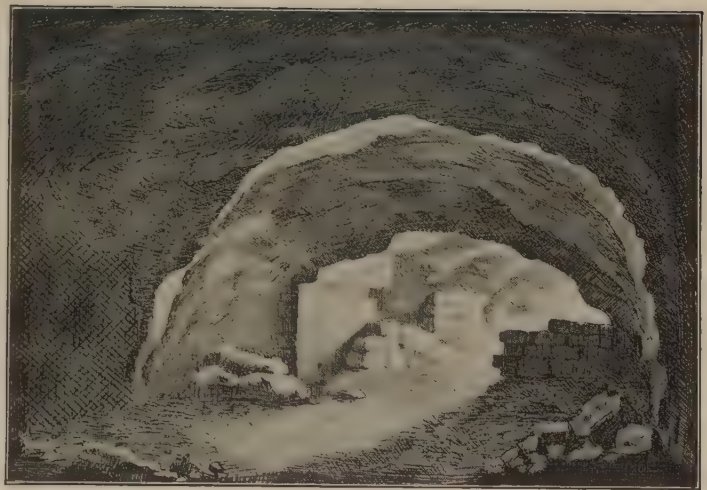
Inde ubi venere ad fauces graveolentis Averni.
Virg. *Aen. VI. 201*

The Virgilian episode revolves around two points, — the grotto, sacred to the worship of Apollo, and Lake Avernus, sacred to that of Persephone. Since the sibyl was invested with the dual character of priestess of Apollo and of Persephone, Aeneas entreats her for the power to descend to the Inferno. He would take the journey which the Hellenic legend granted to a very limited number of its heroes, — Orpheus, Pollux, Theseus, Herakles, who were all impelled by an ardent passion to seek the shades in order to lead back a lover or a friend. Aeneas does not descend to the Inferno for the conquest of love, but as an act of piety and in order to know the future of his race. Besides he longs to see once more his father Anchises and to hear his prophecy.

The beginning of the tale has the sombre and

solemn tone of a funeral dirge. Everything appears as in the malignant light of a veiled moon. The poet makes use of the gruesome associations and legends of the region. Near Lake Avernus was a high and gloomy cavern, reputed to be the entrance to the realm of Hades (fig. 45). This same Avernus, darkened by the shadows of the encircling woods, had the aspect of an infernal spot. Birds could not fly above it without falling lifeless into the water because of the poisonous vapors that drifted across its surface. Even to Virgil is present the fallacious association that the Greeks gave to the reduction of the indigenous name to a proper form of their own dialect (*aornos*=without birds). It is quite possible that the volcanic nature of the soil around the banks gave out pestiferous gases; but the birds, through instinct, would have flown away from the place. Moreover, those who sustain this etimology admit that the ancients gave the same of *Averno* to all the reputed gates of the Inferno (Ostium Ditis). *Av-ernus* is simply a lakes that goes downwards, as *inf-ernus* is a subterranean lake.

The sibyl addresses Aeneas saying: "It is easy to descend to the Orco (from the Latin *arceo*= hidden), but it is difficult to return to the clear light of day. Yet first it behooves you to pluck



(Fig. 43)

" aditus centum, ostia centum / unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa sibyllae "
(Virg. Aen. VI, 43).

The cave of hundred corridors through which resounded the voice of the sibyl.

from the dark forest where it grows, a golden bough for the beautiful Proserpina. Do not tarry; the body of your faithful companion lies in blood and renders impure every member of your fleet. Give it sepulchre. Afterwards you shall see the realm of the silent shades".

Confusedly, Aeneas retraces his way, asking Achates who might be the dead companion. Arriving at the beach, they find the rigid remains of Misenus. The heroic trumpeter met with a tragic end. Attempting to vie with the gods with his twisted horn, Triton, the trumpeter of Neptune, drowned him in the waves.

Meanwhile, amid the general grief, the pyre was prepared. Aeneas was pondering the words of the sibyl when there appeared two white doves, messengers of his mother, Aphrodite. Slowly encircling him they flew straight towards the region of Avernus and perched upon the top of a tree. Instantly, its branches shone with the splendor of gold. Aeneas, who had followed the prodigious flight, plucked the fated branch and carried it to the cave of the sibyl.

After the burning of the pyre the ashes of Misenus, first sprinkled with wine, were placed in an urn. Aeneas erected on the promontory, which was later called after Misenus, a splendid

sepulchre bearing the symbols of the hero, — arms, an oar, and a trumpet. Whoever knows the region asks how could Aeneas possibly have wandered up and down through the Campi Flegrei in a single day, a performance that the poet ascribes to him. The philologists, on their own account, hold that the episode of Misenus may have been a later interpolation. To preserve the unity of time, it is necessary to assume that Aeneas had sepultured his trumpeter on Monte Procida, much nearer Kyme, and that afterwards, his name may have extended to all of the penisula.

In any event, Aeneas heedless of fatigue, sacrificed four black oxen, a fat female lamb and a barren cow, this last symbolizing the sterility of Proserpina. The sacrifices over, Hecate appears in the livid light that preceeds the dawn. The earth trembles under-foot, the trees wave violently, and the dogs howl. "Now, you will have need for all your courage", warns the sibyl, and commanding Aeneas to unsheathe his sword, she plunges with him into the sinister recess.

If it is necessary to adapt the actual topography to the poetic license of Virgil, we can hardly fail to recognize the entrance in that cavern on Lake Avernus, which tradition still indicates as the Grotto of the Sibyl. And if it is not high, as the

(Fig. 44)

" Averna vocant quia sunt avibus contraria cunctis ". (Lucretius, VI, 738).
Lake Avernus over which the ancients believed birds could not fly without falling lifeless.

poet describes, it is certainly dismal and terrifying. At the end of a long corridor a narrow cleft opens on the right, leading, ever deeper, to three chambers. And the dull roar of the water, that seems to be some infernal river, intensifies the atmosphere of dread and mystery. Finally, one reaches a chamber measuring about 2 metres wide and 3-$^1/_2$ metres long. It appears to have been richly ornamented, for the vaults reveal traces of ultramarine blue and of fine gold. The walls were once adorned with rare stones of many colors, while the pavement was in mosaic. Opposite the entrance is an elevation in the form of a small couch. On it rests the torso of a statue which, in the suggestive atmosphere, one involuntarily associates with the sibyl. Oral and written tradition, however, contrary to all reason and logic, persists in designating the tunnel of Cocceius as the underground path followed by the sibyl from the cave of Kyme to the banks of Avernus. And they even invoke the authority of Virgil. But apart from the fact that we are wandering here in a fantastic and superstitious world, the long tunnel was ordered either to be constructed or altered in 37 B. C., only eight years before the *Aeneid* was written. The poet could hardly have indicated this path, since his contemporaries would have regarded it as unreasonable.

It is better therefore to remain in the vagueness which hazards suppositions without foundation.

But let us return and cross over the boundaries of the dark realm. Here Aeneas sees the avenging Cares, inconsolable Grief, the Sorrows, the squallid Diseases; Old Age, abject Fright, Need; Folly, War, and blind and raging Discord. These allegorical monsters revealing their character of philosophical creation, follow then, the monsters of the popular Greek tradition. Moreover, in the vestibule of Orco are the dreams. The vain dreams lie under the spreading branches of an ancient elm tree. This place assigned to dreams in the very mouth of Hades rises from an ancient tradition, as may be observed in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes: " Which unhappy dream do you send me from the mouth of gloomy Hades? ".

The monsters are the Centaurs, Scylla, Briareus, the Hydra of Lerna, the Gorgones, Harpies, Chimaera, and the triple-headed Geryon against which Aeneas would have brandished his sword had the wise sibyl not advised him that they were all apparitions, — " vain shadows of their aspect ".

The popular legends held that the spirits in their journey through the Inferno had to struggle with monsters. Thus, the Aristophanian *Frogs* represents Dionysos as trembling before them,

(Fig. 45)

Inferni janua regis. (Virg. *Aen.*, VI, 106).
The so-called " Grotta of the Sibyl ", on Lake Avernus.

badly imitating Herakles who with his courage dispersed and put them to flight. And opportunely, out of this ancient poem, the idea of the Virgilian representation was taken.

Here, are the rivers of Acheron, and here too, the steersman Charon who ferries the souls across. This dismal boatman was conceived with such definite and characteristic treatment that the type remains unchanged in the literary tradition. He is a squalid and sordid old man with a long, unkempt beard, and flaming eyes. He wears a tunic; its loose folds are held to his body by a cord at his waist. Towards him leap the crowd of souls, all eager to be the first to pass the Stygian flood. And there are so many! But Charon is inexorable. He transports only those that have been interred, leaving the rest to wait on the banks. For another one hundred years they must wander before returning to the shores of Acheron. Aeneas perceives among the unsepultured one of his drowned companions, Palinurus, who prays and entreats him for a word. For only when Aeneas returns to the world of the living and has thrown a handful of earth on his remains, may he embark on the river. But now, — admonishes the sibyl, — they must not wait to divert with prayers the predestined will of the gods.

After making some objections, Charon consents to bear Aeneas across, even though he still be numbered among the living. The bark creaks under its unaccustomed weight, while Cerberus, on the opposite bank, is barking ferociously from three throats. Ever since the *Theogonia* of Hesiod, Cerberus has been the guardian of the Inferno; the vigilant dog that devours whoever attempts to pass the threshold of the mighty Hades and the harsh

(Fig. 46)
Cumaean stater with Cerberus " tartareus custos ".
Virg. *Aen.* VI, 393)

Persephone. Yet even the number of his heads varies. Hesiod assigns him fifty. Virgil fixes the triple-headed type. The sibyl throws to Cerberus a cake made of honey and somniferous herbs. He is pacified and lies down. Thus the sibyl and Aeneas leave the bank of the river that permits of no return. They then enter the Anti-inferno, where there are neither the wailings of the wicked nor the serene happiness of the blessed. Here are heard

only the cries of babes torn by a cruel fate from the maternal breast, and near-by, those other pitiful little ones who were unjustly condemned to die through premature birth. Both have been assigned to the care of Minos.

In the same general precinct are the suicides. Having sought death because they were tired of life, they long to see the earth once more, — even to suffer poverty and harsh affliction. But fate prevents them; the dismal morass and the nine circles of Styx enclose them forever.

Those that died for love wander in a myrtle grove. The pangs which tormented their existence do not abandon them even in death. Here, in these "Weeping Meads" are the famous heroines of unhappy loves, — Phaedra, Procris, Pasiphaë, Laodamia, Dido.

Roaming in the great forest, through the sequestered paths of myrtle, and among the other heroines, is the shade of Dido, Queen of Carthage, revealing the wounds of self-inflicted death. Aeneas sees and recognizes her, though her face no longer glows with the luminous radiance that he loved so well, but is as pallid as the moon. He speaks to her through his tears, for he is torn by remorse at the proof that she really died for him. Dido does not attempt to flee from him, but listens to

him with proud and haughty gratification. To show her contempt she turns her shoulder to his pleadings and remains cold and implacable. For all is over, and she rejoins her husband Sichaeus, whose love has blossomed again in the midst of shadows.

In a place apart, they find the heroes fallen in celebrated wars. The Trojans strive to approach Aeneas; the Greeks take flight. Among the former, he sees the terribly mutilated Deiphobus, son of Priam, and he turns to address him.

But the sibyl warns Aeneas to hasten along the road, and her admonition will likewise serve for us. At this point the road is forked. On the right, it leads to the turreted walls of the city of Dis, beyond which lies Elysium; on the left, it descends to the empire of Tartarus. Aeneas gazes back on the huge structures, surrounded by triple walls, between which runs the fiery stream of Phlegethon, crushing great rocks in its mighty torrent. The river of fire owes it derivation either to the association of cremation, or to the volcanic lava floods. It is certain, however, that from the dawn of this imagery, the idea of devouring fire was implanted in the popular conception of the Inferno.

Before him, on the other side of the Phlegethon, Aeneas observes the massive gate, with co-

The oldest and most faithful image of Virgil. The poet has at his right hand Clio, the Muse of history, and at his left, Melpomene, the Muse of tragedy. He is seeking inspiration from both, as he sits ex *cathedra,* unfolding a papyrus on which is to be read the eighth verse of the *Aeneid.* A mosaic of the first century, A. D., found in 1895, in a Roman villa near Hadrumentum (today Sussa) and now in the Museum of the Bardo at Tunis.

lumns of solid diamond. It is the entrance to the iron tower, wherein Tisiphone reigns and the eternally damned are enclosed. Arrayed in bloody garments she scourges the lost souls and torments them with horrible serpents. She guards the gate to the deepest regions of Tartarus. Virgil distinguishes the condemned of the heroic tradition from the infinite number of common souls. In the deepest abyss are the Titans, stricken down by the thunder bolts of Jove. Near them, is another violent insulter of the gods, Salmoneus, son of Aeolus. Comparing himself to Jove, he ordered sacrifices to be made to him as to a god, and with a bronze car and the trampling of horses, imitated the crashing of the heavenly lightning. Tityus, the corrupter of Latona, is also there, his human body extended for nine acres on the earth, while a hooked-billed vulture continuously pecks his liver. Then comes a numerous tribe of the damned. The poet hints at their crimes and punishments and reveals the influence of the stern Roman laws. On a tomb are observed two mythic figures, — Tejeus and Phlegyas. The first is seated on a rock from which he cannot raise his body (he offered violence to Proserpina, Queen of the Inferno); the second, reviling the gods, burned the temple of Apollo in Delphi.

Aeneas does not enter the kingdom of Pluto,

with its encircling iron wall forged in the workshop of the Cyclopes. But, he reaches its boundary, and performing the lustral rites, deposits the golden bough.

Then he enters the Pagan paradise. In the light of the high sun are seen the souls of the virtuous. Here there are no tortures, lamentations, nor horrid monsters. In the laurel grove, Orpheus plays on his golden harp, accompanying the souls as they dance and sing. Others divert themselves in the fragrant meadows; still others banquet. Aeneas sees the souls of his magnanimous ancestors, and farther on, those of his future progeny. The souls have no fixed abode. The guidance of the Muse, the mythical singer, is therefore necessary to locate Anchises. Aeneas appears before his sire, whose face lights with joy as though he were still alive. Their meeting is very pathetic. Even in the realm of the dead, the old man has followed the fortunes of his son. "How I feared," he says", that the love of the Queen of Carthage would make you forget your destiny!" Just as Odysseus atempted to embrace his mother, Aeneas attempts to embrace his father, but thrice the shade eludes him, touching and passing him like a light breeze.

We are now in the Fields of Bliss *(laeta arva)*.

The innumerable souls that float through the placid expanse bordered by Lethe, the river of Oblivion, give the impression of droning bees in a field of vari-colored flowers. Here, Anchises takes the occasion to expound the theory of the universal soul, of which the souls of men are mere particles, and which, enclosed within the gloomy prison of the body, become so dulled and coarsened, as to forget their divine origin. Expiation, after death, is therefore necessary. In Homer, we do not find this interpolation; after death, the soul descends to the dark mansion of Hades, in the extreme western part of the earth. There, good and bad are gathered together in the same perennial night to which the rays of the sun never penetrate. Only later was faith developed in a system of rewards and punishments according to the deserts of earthly life. With the advance of this idea, the good came to be separated from all sorrow, and assigned to the Elysian Fields *(Elysion pedion)* with its flood of light, while the wicked were condemned to black and joyless Tartarus.

Expiation, according to the concept understood by Virgil, came about in one of three forms postulated by the Mysteries: through air (that is to say, through suspension in the air), with water (under a vast flood of water); and with fire. After

a thousand years of expiation, the soul ascended to Elysium, where drinking the water of oblivion, it returned to earth for reincarnation. This doctrine of metamsychosis or transmigration of souls, is remarkably presented by Cicero in the *Dream of Scipio.*

According to Anchises the shades will be reincarnated in the future heroes of Rome. Virgil's aim was to celebrate the might of Rome; the *Aeneid* was regarded as a great national epic. Aeneas has seen his ancestors; now, from a hill, Anchises points out to him his descendants. First is Silvius, the future son of Lavinia and the hero, founder of the kingly house of Alba Longa. Then follows Romulus, demi-god founder of Rome and of the Julian line, of which Augustus is to be greatest representative. Here too, are the kings of Rome and the ancient heroes, — Brutus the Avenger, the Decii, the Drusi, Torquatus, Camilius, Caesar, Pompey, the Grachii, the Scipios, the Fabii. It is a tumultous enumeration, and disdains chronology. Then with the subtle logic of symphonic variation, after the exaltation of the great national heroes and the revelation of Rome's imperial destiny, follows a tender eulogy that compels the tribute of tears, — a passage as mild and delicate and gentle as the young life whose immature end

was mourned in the death of Marcellus, nephew of Augustus and his heir to the imperial throne.

Donato relates that Octavia, the sister of the emperor, fainted with emotion when she heard the beautiful verses of the sixth book in praise of her son Marcellus. Augustus asked the poet to desist from his reading, but Virgil advised them that the canto was finished.

THE TEN GATES TO THE CITY OF DIS.

Latin literature has conveyed the story of another voyage to the Inferno in a poem of the Punic war by Silius Italicus (XIII, 381 et seq.). On this occasion the sibyl accompanies the younger Scipio, who while keeping Hannibal at bay and his army in idleness at Capua, learns of the death of the two Scipios, his father and uncle. Plunged in sorrow, the beloved ones appear to him in a dream. He decides then, to descend to Hades and to speak with them and to learn his fate. He journeys to Kyme, where the priestess Autonoe is seated on a tripod sacred to Apollo. He implores her to permit him to see the two heroes. The sibyl answers: "It is customary to sacrifice two black sheep, facing the rising sun, and to pour the blood in a ditch; then, will the pallid

abodes send you their dwellers. The fate that you wish to know is reserved for a prophetess of a higher order. Learn it! Go therefore, to the entrance of Avernus in the middle of the night, and after having been purified, offer there the victims and carry with you honey and the purest wine".

Scipio obeys in everything, and at the fixed hour, he finds the sibyl in the cave of Styx, which leads to a frightful chamber. The sibyl orders him dig to open the ditch and immolate a black bull to Pluto and an unmated heifer to the goddess of Enna (Persephone). On both sacrifices he pours honey and a mixture of milk and wine. The black sheep are sacrificed to Alecto, the dark, brooding witch.

"But, stop!" suddenly cries the sibyl, "and dare to endure the sight that advances from the depths of Erebus. I see Tartarus approaching. All the realm of Pluto is before my eyes! A thousand spectres, a thousand different shapes, — all the men who were born and have died since the ancient *chaos* are rushing towards us in a crowd. You will see Scylla, the Cyclopes, the horses of the Odrysae to which Diomedes gave human bodies. Behold this spectacle and keep your sword unsheathed, warding off all these blood-thirsty souls until the sacred sibyl appears. Scipio recognizes Appius,

whose body has not yet been cremated and who can therefore speak as though he were alive. While the two are speaking, the sibyl advances. "Hush!" warns Autonoe, "here is the priestess of the truth!" The aged prophetess drinks the blood, and then addresses Scipio: "When I was alive, everyone knew that the cave of Kyme resounded with my oracles. I prophesied the revolutions of your empire. But your ancestors gave no weight to my words, or perhaps they did not even listen to them. Since you have at heart to learn the order of your destiny and that of Rome, know that you will win in the fields of Spain and will bring Carthage under heel. Afterwards you will have tremendous success and the heavens will not cease to ring with your praises. But, I blush to see Rome so ungrateful! No, you no longer will have even a fatherland in Rome!"

Having thus spoken, the sibyl went towards the darkness. "However hard be the lot reserved for me", answered Scipio, "I will ever struggle with courage. But illustrious virgin, give me, I beg of you, some word on the silent abode of shades!"

"I consent, although you ask about a region of which few care to know! Listen then: There, enveloped in blackness and gloom, innumerable souls are whirling through the eternal night.

All dwell in the same abode. All that had life on the earth, in the sea and in the air, must descend to this common place of death. This silent field can contain all that have died and all that are born to die. Ten doors enclose the entrance to this realm. The first is opened to warriors; the second, to the founders of cities and to legislators; the third to those that labor honestly; the fourth to those who invent pleasing arts or compose good poetry; the fifth to the shipwrecked; the sixth, admits the mass of sinners, who, obliged to confess their offenses, receive their punishment by the judgment of Rhadamanthus. The seventh opens to a crowd of women who populate the pale forests of Proserpina. The eighth, to the children, and to virgins for whom the nuptial flame was changed to the funeral torch. Another door, shining in the light, leads to the Elsyian Fields, where dwell those just souls that although separated from the dismal night of Styx may not yet enter the celestial abode and meanwhile drink of the water of Lethe in order to forget. The splendor that radiates from the last door tells us that it opens on the light, and from there, the souls return to the heavens to take again their bodies after the passing of five thousand years".

And the terrifying description of the Inferno

continues, ever darkly tinted. "But now," says the sibyl", it is time that you knew your mother. Her shade approaches!". The sibyl drinks the blood, and mother and son recognize each other. "Oh, mother, whom I adore as a divinity"! exclaims Scipio, "what a great longing I had to look upon the Styx in order to see you. How cruel that my birth should have been your death!". "My son, my death was not cruel. Liberating the fruit which I bore to a god, Mercury led me to the Elysian Fields, to the company of the illustrious mothers". She relates how she became with child through Jove. Finally, Scipio tries thrice to give her a filial embrace, but in vain. Dramatic and touching also is the meeting between Scipio and his father and uncle. Next, advances Brutus, immortalized by his son's supplications, then Camilius, Curius, Horatius Coclite, — the sibyl pointing each one out to him, and finally counselling him to speak to Hamilcar, father of Hannibal. Hamilcar explains why it is fatal that his son struggle against Rome.

The shades of the famous dead advance. Clearly visible in the bright light are the great Homer and the two heroes, Castor and Pollux. The sibyl then goes to visit the shades of the illustrious women. Among them are numbered Lavinia, second wife of Aeneas, who had united with a

long posterity the race of the Trojans with that of the Latins, Hersilia, the companion of Romulus, the raped Sabines, Carmenta, who predicted the present revolutions, Tanaquilla, Lucretia, Virginia, Clelia. Other shades are struggling in their torture, — Tullia who trod upon the body of her father, Tarpeia who betrayed her country for gold, and beyond, a vestal who profaned the temple. The sibyl next causes Scipio to see the souls that drink of the water of Lethe, in preparation for their return to life: Mario, Silla, the great Pompey, and Julius Caesar, who, with their love of battle, will reincarnate only to disturb the world anew! In conclusion, the sibyl predicts the miserable end of Hannibal and vanishes among the shadows. Scipio returns to the gate and finds his companions.

THE LAST EPOCH OF THE SIBYL.

Ultima Cumei venit jam carminis aetas.

Virg. *Egl.* IV. 4.

Latin literature records other journeys to the nether world. Aside from that of *Culex* (the mosquito) a little poem attributed to Virgil, an account is read in the *Metamorphosis* (XIV, 101-121) of Ovid, although it is really nothing more than a Virgilian abstract. The companion of Aeneas is again the aged sibyl, who conducts the

hero only as far as the Elysian Fields. He had been invited there by his father Anchises, who had appeared to him several times in dreams, each time blessing the faithful son who had snatched him from certain death by carrying him on his shoulders when Troy was burning, and passing through the flames under a dense shower of spears and darts. As in the *Aeneid,* the Sibyl, placed by the triple-formed Hecate in charge of the *lucis Averni,* orders Aeneas to pluck a golden branch from a tree in the infernal forest of Juno. It is the usual Orphic rite, the branch of gold replacing that of myrtle, presented by the initiates for the supplication of Proserpina. This particular is noted; Aeneas pursues his way with his face backwards, which was believed to be the observance in the infernal regions. I have already referred, — in reviewing the biographic details of the sibyl, — to the dialogue between the Dardan hero and the prophetess. Here it is necessary to observe that if she were as old as Ovid claims when Aeneas came to the Cumaean shores, — Kyme, even according to the traditional date was perhaps not yet founded, — the sibyl had already seen seven hundred years. And since she must not see more than another three hundred years she would have been dead before the legend of Aeneas, through

which she became famous, had been transformed into a Roman legend by Trajan.

According to the general opinion this was done at the time of the first Punic war (264-261 B. C.), though the famous *Tabula Iliaca* seems to demonstrate that the myth of Aeneas had been localized on the coasts of Campania from the sixth century. Even the author of *De Mirabilibus*, which is presumed to have been written in 240 B. C., speaks of the sibyl as a legendary being already belonging to past times.

The tradition does not assign her a determinate age, but prefers to imagine her as very old as a symbol of wisdom and experience. It does not seem interested in knowing whether other prophetesses took her place. Besides, there are proofs that the ministery of the sibyl, — under which name I mean the various priestesses succeeding to the title in the cult of Apollo and its divination, — lasted even after the Christian era. A remembrance of the sibyl is recorded in the *Satyricon*, a fragmentary romance attributed to Petronious Arbiter, contemporary of Nero, of whom he was a friend. Trimalcione says in the course of the famous supper: "And the Cumaean sibyl?.... I have seen her with my own eyes suspended inside a phial (?) and when the children asked, "What

(Fig. 47)

The supposed Sibyl of the National Museum of Naples. The draperies give her a very imposing aspect. On the left is a papyrus on which she would inscribe the destiny of men.

do you want, sibyl"? she immediately replied: "I want to die"!

But an atmosphere was gradually being prepared that would render impossible the survival of Apollo's seer. Already, when in the eighth book of the oracles, she foretells the birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary, she appears to have exhausted her usefulness, — to have fulfilled her mission. Even Virgil senses this when in *Eclogue IV* he says:

" *Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas* " —

" The last age of the Cumaean song has come ", !.

That age has slipped into the irrevocable past long ago, yet the name of Virgil still resounds through all the region of the Phlegraean Fields. Near the sibyl's grotto, where the poet wished to have his sepulchre, it revives in the midst of the fantasy created by his spirit, giving and receiving that immortal light for which he became the object of local legend and of universal admiration.

Critical history and the course of the centuries have rent the veil of those vaporous fancies, but intact, and ever more lustrous, is the glory of his genius.

STRUGGLES FOR SUPREMACY

Reconstruction of the Cumaean landscape with the curved sandy path which so impressed Seneca (*Ep.* LV.) in describing the beauties of the villa of Servilius Vatia.

FROM THE COALITION AGAINST KYME TO THE BATTLE OF ARICIA.

Let us return to the world of the living, or rather to that exuberant, vigorous and prosperous world, which at the beginning of the fifth century was revolving amidst its strong passions and the lust for trade and gain. I have already stated that Kyme because of her fortunate geographical position was by nature destined to be a mediator between the Hellenic races and the Etruscans, who were on the way to great expansion northward and southward from their original Italic base. The Etruscans mined their rich deposits of ore; the Greeks had a flourishing ceramic industry and were expert in the manufacture of vases and in their varnishing, to which art they held the secret. The Greeks also dealt directly in oil, a precious

substance transporting it in painted vases, of themselves the objects of a profitable trade. Similarly, wine was an importation with which the Greeks frequently calmed the spirits of the natives. As a rule, the cultivation abroad of the vine and the olive by the Greek colonists was not encouraged. The Athenians regarded the olive as a special gift made by Athene to their own land And Rome, until the imperial age, did not grant her colonies the right to plant the vine. It is useless to underestimate the commerce that Italia enjoyed with the Orient, although the ancients often exaggerated the facility of communication with Greece. Varro, for example, relates that Pyrrhus had thought of joining Greece and Italy by a bridge between Ephesus and the land of Otranto; absurd project, or rather tale this, to be explained only by the close maritime relations between the two opposite regions.

Since in antiquity navigation followed the coasts for reasons of safety, Kyme was almost an obligatory point of passage. It was therefore, an *emporium,* the capital of a land that ruled the waves before the outbreak of the struggle between Rome and Carthage.

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (VII, 3), the city of Kyme was in grave danger during the first years of the sixth century, because of the ce-

lebrity she enjoyed throughout Italy for her wealth and power, if indeed, it were not her great prosperity that had incited the jealousy of her enemies. The envy of her riches and of her thriving port constantly goaded on the Etruscans who longed to assert themselves in the Campania Felice, so productive of wheat and wine and flocks.

The Etruscans dominated the Campania and had founded twelve cities there (Strabo, V, 242). One may perhaps question the number (the *dodecapoli* may have been a duplication of those of Etruria proper), but not the dominion itself. There are indisputable evidences of it in Capua, Nola, Herculaneum and Pompeii. The Etruscans did not occupy Campania before the sixth century. We find, however, commercial links as far back as the eighth century. For example, the Cumaean tomb discovered near the *tholos* sepulchre, contained such a quantity of rich furnishings that one might easily believe it held the ashes of some Etruscan tyrant.

The statement of Dionysius that the Gallic invasion drove the Etruscan hordes from the Padana Valley in Campania is confirmed by epigraphic particulars. At the time of Augustus it was the general opinion that the Etruscans had occupied Campania up to its conquest by the Samnites. Polybius speaks of the Etruscans as

possessors of the Campi Flegrei. In reality, the Etruscan domination, lasted only a century and left no profound trace. The Etruscan conquerors who were not very numerous, were too exposed to the influence of the Greek civilization radiating from Kyme to continue their artistic development with any degree of independence.

The Etruscans, therefore, in 524 B. C., consumed with envy at the Cumaean prosperity, declared war on the city, with the hope of despoiling her of her rich stores, the fruits of a long and fortunate commerce. Assembling a strong force of Tyrrhenians, Umbrians and Pelasgians, they launched the attack. According to many, this assailing army attained fabulous proportions, — at least for those times, — the infantry numbering fifty thousand, and the cavalry four thousand five hundred. Others reduce the forces to more modest figures, claiming only eighteen thousand infantry and five hundred cavalrymen. Yet even this number would have meant a very dangerous enemy for Kyme, which was never very populous. Fortunately, the Cumaeans sensed the Etruscan menace and were prepared. They lacked confidence however, in their own strength, until they gained courage and hope from a prodigious event. The two rivers, Volturnus and Glani, leaving their natural courses

(Fig. 49)
Banquet scene (probably funeral). Campania krater of Greco-Samnitic style.
(from Mon. Ant. XXII plate XCIII).

at the very mouths into which they emptied, returned to their sources. The miracle of the rivers that climbed back to their springs, (a miracle that was perpetuated in the songs of the children), is to be traced, perhaps, to the memory or some grave danger overcome with the help of the gods. But the story holds that the Cumaeans, accepting it as a good augury, prepared an army and divided it into three garrisons. The first was sent to guard the city; the second, the port and the ships; and the third took the field. The Etruscans were completely taken by surprise, believing that they would have an easy victory. They launched their attack with barbaric cries, but in the confusion, imprudently mixed cavalry and infantry. The Cumaeans who were familiar with the place, bravely withstood the attack and were even aided by a raging storm. The assailing forces were defeated.

The account of the attempted assault against the Cumaeans by the Tyrrhenians, with other peoples, — probably also native mercenaries, — is held to be genuine, although doubtless reaching us with some alterations. In this war, Aristodemos Malakos (known as "the Sluggish") distinguished himself. He was a plebian, but of great valor. He not only urged on his comrades to the common

defense from the walls of the city, but rushed out into the conflict himself, to kill the Etruscan general. The brunt of the whole battle was however borne by the noble Hippomedonte, master of the Cumaean cavalry. Upon the return of the troops to the city, after the honors had been paid to the dead, the nobles and the plebeians disputed as to which group should be given credit for the victory. The former gave greater importance to the directing mind than to the risk for which some of their number inclined to give the award to the general; but the plebeians, attached more importance to the risk, and with arrogant tumult pronounced themselves in favor of Aristodemos. The senate, prompted by the good of the country, kept out of the dispute, and thereby evaded internal strife. The plebeians held great public rejoicing over their victory and awarding the honor to Aristodemos, declared him leader of the populace. The affable manner in which the astute plebian conducted himself won for him the good-will of the people, but aroused the mistrust of the senate, in which body, rancor was not yet stifled. The nobles knew that Aristodemos aspired to the domination of the city, but not being able to stem his ambition, could only hope that time would bring them relief.

And before long, the propitious occasion presented itself, or at least, it so appeared. In the fifth century the Etruscans had reached their maximum power. As if to give proof of it, they accepted the suggestion of Tarquin the Proud to attack Rome. Porsena, the most powerful of the Etruscan kings, marched from Chiusi, defeated the Romans on the right bank of the Tiber, and laid siege to the city; but marvelling at the bravery and heroism of its citizens, he withdrew (507 B. C.). More important, though less known, is the battle against Aricia (today Ariccia) that marked the end of the Etruscan superiority in Latium. In one of the first years of the Roman Republic, Porsena sent his son Arunte to occupy (*armata manu*) Aricia, which was near Rome. The Aricians, realizing their own weakness, asked help of their friends, the Cumaeans, against the usurper. In such an occasion, the senate of Kyme saw the most favorable circumstance to get rid Aristodemos Malakos, but they failed to consider all the possibilities of such a plan. The senate agreed to help the Aricini to the extent of two thousand soldiers, and appointed the hated plebeian to the command, believing and hoping that he would perish in action. Further having decided to defend Aricia by sea, they

sent ten damaged ships. Not without considerable danger, Aristodemos arrived at the shores of Aricia. After encamping there, he immediatley set out to test the bravery of the Aricini, but the latter, in the very first skirmish, retreated and enclosed themselves within their city walls. Left alone with his men, Aristodemos fought the Etruscan forces and defeated them. Amid great triumph and honors, he departed from Aricia, his ships laden with gifts.

On arriving on the beach at Kyme, he sacrificed to the gods and the entered the city. He requested that the senate be summoned, so that he might give the assembly an account of his enterprise. But it was only a pretext to bring all the senators together and have them slain in a body. Thus making himself master of Kyme, he selected a guard of youths, as a guarantee for the safety of his own person. In order to gain the enthusiastic support of the plebeians he declared a division of the lands and the remission of debts. He also freed the condemned prisoners. On the ground that he wished co-operation in his effort to stabilize a democratic government, he ordered that all arms be delivered up in the temples. Needless to state, that with these arms the tyrant firmly entrenched himself and made away with all the heads of the opposition.

(Fig. 50)
Amphitheatre. (From an engraving of the first half of the XIX century).

He premiated the wicked, giving to them the goods of the slain. The wives of his dead opponents were delivered to their former slaves; their sons were exiled from Kyme. Removing the statues from the temples, he substituted his own. He deprived the laws of the land of all authority.

THE TYRANNY OF ARISTODEMOS.

Few events worthy of note occurred during this period of tyranny. It was said that Kyme was the asylum for Tarquin the Proud, — after the neighbouring sovereign chiefs had tried to restore him to his throne or had refused to help him, — and that in Kyme he ended his days. The story, although referred to by Livy (II, 21) is doubted, possibly because it is more likely that Tarquin took refuge in Caere, or because it appears to be too palpable an attempt to place in an artificial relation two tyrants famed in the Greco-Roman tradition. It is related however, that when the year 492 B. C., brought a grave famine, Rome sent envoys to Kyme to monopolize the grain. Upon their arrival, Tarquin and the other exiles seized the ships, hoping that the monopolists would be killed. Having failed in this plan, they attempted to have the envoys held prisoners until

they were assured their possessions in Rome would be returned to them. The envoys were called to the tribunal, where they explained that since they were not empowered by the senate to deal on any matter except grain, they could not accede therefore to other demands. It appears that Aristodemos himself gave the envoys a means of escape during the night.

A single public benefit is attributed to this tryant; he is said to have builded a great fortified wall around the Cumaean territory. Fiorelli believed that he was able to identify some of its remains about 300 meters from the temple of Jove.

But in return, he brought untold harm upon the city, which he reduced to a condition of wantonness and immorality. He effeminized the youth by prohibiting physical exercises in the gymnasium and studies in the academy. The boys were compelled to dress as women, with their hair worn long or curled. Attired in robes of various colors, perfumed, and smeared with ointments, they were taught to amuse themselves with the delights of the bath and with dancing and music in the shade of the trees. The women, on the contrary, were made to cut their hair short and to don masculine clothing.

These infamous actions stirred the citizens to

hatred and they began to plot against him. After fourteen years, he finally met the fate of all tyrants. He was betrayed and, with his entire family, assassinated. His end is variously narrated. I have already mentioned that he caused to be expelled from Kyme the sons of the slain. He had forced them to live the uncouth life of servants, but from the very first, fearing that they would avenge their fathers, he ordered them tho be killed. For some reason he rescinded the order, but, one day, going out into the suburbs of Kyme, he was alarmed at seeing these youths grown to strong maturity, and again determined to destroy them. They were warned, however, in time to escape, and fleeing to Capua. were joined by other young fugitives, among them the sons of the slain general Hippodemonte. They procured arms and forming themselves into a band, began to make raids on the outskirts of the city. One day, a group of them presented themselves to Aristodemos, feigning they were fugitives. They promised him that if he would give them sufficient forces, they would lead the army of the tyrant against the exiles. Meanwhile, the other young Cumaeans were waiting in ambush near Avernus and when they knew that their companions and the soldiers had left Kyme, sixty of the bravest, dressed in goat-skins,

entered the city. At night they opened the gates to their comrades and killed the tyrant and his family.

(Fig. 51)

Donarium. Bronze halmet offered, with a tenth of the spoils, by Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, at the temple of Zeus in Olimpia after the victory over the Etruscans, (474 B. C.) on behalf of Kyme. *(Photo British Museum).*

Others give the credit for the assassination of Aristodemos to a woman by the name of Senocrita, with whom the tyrant was ardently in

love. One day she went with him to see the progress of the new fortifications. When they arrived at the spot, he walked a little apart, not having noticed one of the exiled youths standing near. The youth approached the woman and implored her help in the hardships of the exiles. "How can you expect me to take any interest in you", demanded Senocrita, "you who are such sheep, and such fools, as to endure for so long a time this slavery with its miseries? When will you decide to be known as men and not as weak women?" The youth replied: "If we had help, we would soon show that we are men!" Senocrita promised to aid them, and the youths thereupon devised a plot at the head of which they placed a certain Timotele. Constantly guided by the secret assistance of the woman, they were admitted to the palace at night, and killed the tyrant.

The Cumaeans wished to reward Senocrita for having thus so bravely restored their liberties to them, but she refused everything, asking only to be permitted to bear the corpse of Aristodemos around the entire city as a trophy. Her request was granted and she was later elected Priestess of Ceres and honors were heaped upon her. (cfr. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* XXVI).

Kyme returned to its aristocratic government.

Fifteen years of tyranny, however, had sapped the city's strength. Her maritime power was declining. To make matters worse, the Etruscans were becoming restless. Notwithstanding their defeat, they continued to frequent as masters more important markets of Campania. And when

(Fig. 52)

Cumaean staters coined after the battle of 474 B. C. The branch engraved on the obverse from that time onward, alludes to the victory; the prancing dolphins, to the grateful assistance received from the Siracusans.

Aristodemos fell, the weakness of Kyme was patent to her enemies, who were watching every opportunity to gather an army from the maritime cities of Etruria with which to crush her. The control of so important a position on the Tyrrhenian would have guaranteed them easy communication with the interior Etruscan cities. It would have facilitated, too, commercial exchange between them and the mother country, and by

(Fig. 53)

Fortifications of the city. (From an engraving of the XVIII century, which can hardly be called a faithful reconstruction).

reinvigorating the Etruscan elements, make possible emigration at their own free will.

It was the year 275 of the Roman calendar and Cesone Fabius Vibolanus and T. Virgilius Rubilius were consuls. In that crucial moment, destined to be the decisive one for the future Etruscan power, the Etruscans could not muster more than their own forces. The defeat of Himera and the peace that the Carthaginians had been forced to conclude with Gelo, deprived them of all Phoenician help. In the weakness of the Cumaeans they placed their strongest hope. The Cumaeans, however, who this time, were keeping close vigil, turned to Syracuse for aid. Fortunately for them, republican license had not yet plunged Greek Sicily and Syracuse into disorder. Governed by Hiero, who had succeeded to his brother Gelon in 478, B. C., Syracuse was still the greatest power in the West. Hiero was a native of Kyme of Negroponte, and willingly he came to the defense of Hellenism and his allies. He sent ships, soldiers, food, and equipment of war. With the Cumaeans, these re-inforcements formed a powerful fleet. Going forth, they forced the Etruscans to accept battle, although the latter had made a land attack before reaching Kyme. For the second time, the Etruscan fleet was com-

pletely destroyed, while the many Carthaginian ships, partly sunk and partly captured, added to the loss.

The victory of Kyme marked the end of Etruscan expansion and virtually finished Etruscan dominion in Campania. It was celebrated by Pindar in the first Pythian ode. Hiero offered the spoils of war to Zeus in Olympia, including (fig. 51) three helmets as an *anathema*. In 1817, one of these helmets, carrying an inscription, was found among the ruins of the sanctuary. It was presented to King George IV of England by Sir Patrick Ross, and in 1823, placed in the British Museum. This helmet is important not only as a historical record, but also as an object of paleographic value. On one side it bears a fixed date (474 B. C.); on the other, it plainly shows that at that time, writing was still in its infancy. With such large and painfully traced letters, there could have been but slight temptation to hand down to posterity lengthy works written in memory of past events.

After the battle of Veii and of Kyme (474 B.C.) the land communications between Etruria and the colonies of Campania were interrupted, while the sea route was made most difficult by the Cumaeans, masters of a great stretch of the Campanian coast.

The Etruscans still remained garrisoned in Capua, also called *Volturnum* (Livy, IV, 37), a name which is retained by a river flowing in the vicinity.

But the military successes of Kyme over the Etruscans were not destined to be of long duration. In 438 B. C., according to the computation of Diodorus, and in 424 B. C., according to the chronology of Livy (IV, 44) tribes of the Samnite race descended from the central Apennine chain, and gaining possession of the fertile plains, — a fact which soon made them known under the name of *Campani*, — they made themselves masters of Volturnum. At first, the Etruscans, who were tired of fighting, permitted them to come within the walls of the city, and finally gave them the rights of citizens. Later, they treasonably freed themselves of their troublesome allies. With new confidence in their prowess, which they demonstrated by taking Capua from the Etruscans, and filled with envy of the Cumaeans, the Samnites four years later directed their forces against Kyme. The conflict was long and bitter. Finally, the Samnites, or the Campanians, as they were then called, took Kyme by assault. The Cumaeans, surpassed and vanquished, suffered all the horrors of war. The captured city was given over to sacking. Families were reduced to slavery. Public

edifices were torn down. The daughters of the citizens were exposed to infamy; their wives violated. The Cumaeans who were able to save themselves by hiding among the cliffs ultimately went to Parthenope to recover, and dwell there in peace. But the refugees were numerous and the city was narrow. However, the people of Parthenope, pitying them and recognizing their common origin, assigned them a section, where the Cumaeans built a new city, and surrounded it with defensive walls.

The Greek population that remained in Kyme however, had not been entirely exterminated, for a half century later, Scylax of Caryande could still call Kyme a Greek city, and four hundred years later, there were found traces of Greek manners and customs, even after the Oscan tongue which had supplanted the Greek, had at its own volition, given way to the Latin.

The sunny and fertile Campanian country from time immemorial had been inhabited by the Oscans. They had ploughed the ground, planted the vine, sown the seed, and had builded the first cities of southern Italy. About the middle of the fifth century, the Greek, Etruscan and Oscan civilization could flourish side by side and could almost complement one another. Near the ancient

(Fig. 54)

The Arco Felice with the ruins of the paving of the Domitian Way.

and poor wooden sanctuaries of the Oscans arose the majestic Doric temples, with their bronzes and policromes, and the graceful forms and the inimitable profiles of the gods. The atriums of the Etruscan houses were enlarged by Hellenic peristyles, and in the modest little Oscan huts were to be seen ornaments of gold filigree, objects of silver, of copper, exquisite trifles of amber and the lustrous, black vases. But, about the middle of the fifth century, a fourth people, as I have before stated, came to disturb this slow blending. The Samnites were a strong federation of war-like tribes. Settling in very remote times in the mountainous places between Apulia and Campania, they gradually descended to conquer nearly all of southern Italy from sea to sea, and finished by subjecting the indigenous races and weakening the Etruscans and the Greeks.

With the amalgamation of these diverse civilizations everything was altered. Kyme, where pure Hellenism had manifested itself in all of its creative power and refinement, offered an aspect of mediocrity and decadence. The Italic element became fused with the Greek and from it issued an hybrid art. The indigenous religion prevailed. The Samnitic stamp borne by the art of this phase of Cumaean life remained even during Roman

domination, which began to assert itself at about 334 B. C.

Capua was in a continuous state of warfare with the Samnite Federation, and by the middle of the fourth century the *Campania Felice* was ablaze with strife. The Etruscans had cleared away, but Hellenism was left in discord, — now struggling against the Samnite power, and now resorting to it for aid in order to satisfy its hatred. Inevitably sooner or later, Rome was bound to interfere in the confused and turbulent affairs of Campania.

THE SAMNITE AND ROMAN INVASIONS.

A Campanis Cumae, quam Graeci tum urbem tenebant capiuntur.

Livy, *IV*, *44*.

The Campanians were so weakened by the luxur and loose living of the same Capua which afterwards proved fatal even to the army of Hannibal, that within eighty years did not know how to defend themselves against the new Samnite tribes descending from the mountains, — the consanguineous and neighboring Sidicini. These Samnites occupying Mount Tifata, above Capua, rushed down upon the rich plain and easily overcoming the Campanians in battle, forced them to

(Fig. 55)

Apollo plays the lyre.

Hellenistic sculpture which Gabrici believes came from Kyme.

appeal to the Romans for help. Although Rome had a treaty of alliance with them, she did not decide to intervene until the Campanians had made complete surrender, with the result, that at the close of the war (341 B. C.) Rome extended her protectorate over Campania. Even then, the fertility of the region was renowned. Pliny, the famous naturalist, asked how one could properly describe the Campania, where, " in this one place, nature wished to give proof of her strength and gaiety, where the climate was invariably temperate and healthful, the fields fertile and the hills sunny, the pastures rich and the forests well wooded, the woods varied and plentiful, and the whole country abounding in wheat, wines, olives, fine wool and fat flocks ". Obviously, Campania, was a region coveted by peoples desirous of expansion.

But the peace was not destined to last long; after a year, we find the Latins and the Sindicini again at war, and the Romans and the Samnites taking part in the struggle. The armies met at the foot of Vesuvius. The Roman Consul Decius having first consecrated himself to the gods of the Shades and of the Earth, won the memorable battle (340 B. C.).

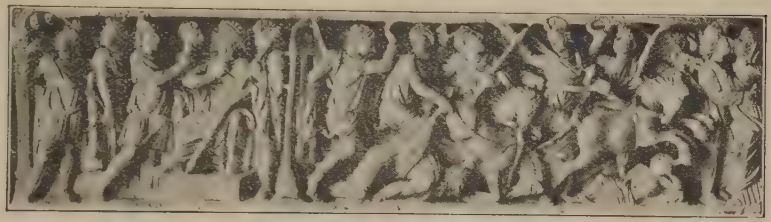
Victorious Rome distributed rewards and punishments; from the Latins, she took a part of their

lands, and to the Campanians, she accorded citizenship, however limited. Capua had the " *civitas sine suffragio* ". The Roman Senate gave equal rights to Kyme, Suessula and Formiae, that is to say, all the prerogatives and all the obligations of Roman citizens, except eligibility to elect magistrates and to be elected to public office.

In 337 B. C., Kyme, enjoying the rights of citizenship, was inscribed in the Palatine division (Livy, VIII, 14). After the Roman conquest, the city remained deserted and the few who after a short period returned there must have had a difficult time to place themselves in a tolerable position again.

From a *Municipium*, which was an autonomous community, Kyme was reduced to a *praefectura*, remaining so until the end of the Republic (30 B. C.). It is not known why Kyme suffered this demoting, especially in view of the fact, that unlike the Campanians, the city maintained an unswerving loyalty throughout the Punic War, as well as during the Social War. Livy (XXIII, 15) relates an incident that is eloquent of Cumaean fidelity. In 214 B.C., the Capuans, anxious to injure the Cumaeans, but knowing well their faithfulness to Rome, had recourse to a stratagem. It was their ancient custom to assemble in the Hami forest, three

Principal front of sarcophagus excavated at Kyme in the first half of the XIX century. Under the myth of Pelops is symbolized the destiny of man, well disciplined, so that engaging in the struggle of life, he may deliver the victory, and hence, the reward.



(Fig. 56)

Representation of the contest between Pelops and Aenomaus.

Scene I. - Arrival of Pelops at the house of Aenomaus to enter the lists.

Scene II.. - While the charioteer Myrtilus tries to raise the fallen horses, the victory is obtained by Pelops.

Scene III. - Pelops embraces Hippodamia, his bride. Work of the IV century.

miles distant from Kyme in the direction of Linterno, at a place called *Gallinaria*, and today, *Pineta di Patria*. This sacred forest is commemorated also by a recently discovered tablet. During the celebration, which lasted three days, beginning and ending at midnight, the Capuans excluded all peoples of different origin from their own. But on this occasion the Capuan senate invited the senate of Kyme, on the pretext that they were to discuss there the question as to whether during the Punic War it were better to have the Romans as friends or enemies, in the event that Hannibal should be victorious at Cannae. The Cumaeans at once saw through their deception, and determined to repay them in like coin. They accepted the invitation, and sent messengers to inform the Consul Sempronius Gracchus. Encamped with the Roman army near Linterno, he was waiting the opportunity to resist Hannibal, who was encamped at the foot of Mount Tifata (at Capua). The Consul ordered the Cumaeans to make provision, and then secretly to withdraw and place themselves in ambush in the most advantageous spot near the Hami forest. The Capuans had premeditated a massacre of the Cumaeans. Under the guise of preparing for the feast, they had dispatched an armed force into ambush at the

scene of the festivities, believing that they would thus be able to do away with the Cumaean senate. While some of the Capuans were led into the *sacer lucus* by the supreme magistrate, Marius Alphius, Prefect, the astute consul, silently betook himself to the place of the feast to a spot above the other ambushed Capuans, who, worn out from their excesses, were deep in sleep, and unarmed. He caused more than a thousand to be stabbed. But, exercising caution, he did not go far from his base, through fear of an attack from Hannibal, who was naturally, a participant in the plot. Hannibal, learning of the failure, saw his hope of occupying Kyme through fraud blasted and his dream of having a maritime port within his power shattered. But believing that he would still find the Romans intent upon sacking the city, and therefore unprepared, he moved with his cavalry into the Cumaean territory. He besieged Kyme in the certainty that he would be able to take the city as a result of starvation. He had a wooden tower placed near the wall; but the Consul Gracchus had a higher one built, from which he could dominate the whole situation. When the propitious occasion arrived, he ordered great stones, burning poles and projectiles to be hurled into the ranks of the enemy. The tower of the besiegers caught

fire and threw them into retreat. Then the Romans issuing from the two gates, assailed the enemy, who were fleeing in disorder, having abandoned their camp and all their equipment. (Sil. It. XII, 60). This Roman and Cumaean victory was interpreted as the will of the gods, because as Julius Obsequens wrote, — and history seems willing to leave the responsibility for the statement to him, — it was presaged by miracles, " the sea was aflame, and a cow bore a horse ".

But in spite of its loyalty even after the victory of Cannae, when many terrified towns forsook Rome for the triumphant Hannibal, Kyme was reduced to a *Praefectura*. As a matter of custom, Rome sent some *praefecti* into the *Municipia*, on their appointment by the *praetor urbanus*. Due to its great importance, the prefecture of the Campanian League had an exceptional administration, comprising as it did, ten communities speaking different languages. Over the Campanian district presided four elected prefects, who, if not originally, at least, in the course of time, were chosen by popular suffrage, but always on the designation of the *praetor*. The official title of these magistrates was: *IV viri praefecti jure dicundo*..... to which were added the names of the cities. But in the ordinary language their title was abridged and they

were indicated thus: "*quatorviri Capuam Cumas*". The judicial character of these magistrates, who had no fixed jurisdiction, but who administered justice in Campania in the name of Rome, has been dealt with by Mommsen, that profound authority on Roman history, from whom we are quoting.

The time of the institution of these judiciaries, whether in 318 B. C. or in 211 B. C., as Livy suggests, when he hints at their creation as part of the changed political status of Capua, has not been decisively ascertained. The question is linked with another, namely, did Capua, in 343 B. C., when she solicited the help of the Romans, make an unconditional surrender to them, or did she merely bind herself to Rome with a *foedus aequum* (just alliance). In the latter case, the date of the sending out of the prefects must be advanced, at least as far as Capua is concerned, to 211 B. C., the year in which that city rebelling against Rome, was subjugated.

In 30 B. C., after the Battle of Actium, Augustus created twenty-eight colonies. The custom, not only among the Romans, but among all Italic peoples, was to take from the vanquished a third of their territory, and to send there colonists, especially veterans, to occupy it. Probably, as appears from a passage of *Liber colo-*

(Fig. 57)
Mystical toilette of a bride (defunct).

niarum, (232,10) even at the time of the Gracchi (133-122 B. C.) colonists had been invited to Kyme. At the end of the civil war, Augustus had to dismiss and provide for not only the veterans of his own army, but for those of Anthony and of Lepidus, as well. The legionaries were sent to their countries; the younger men, who were disabled for military service, received an indemnity, while the veterans were allotted lands. The provincials were compelled to cede, through the medium of indemnity, their lands to the colonists in such a way that there came to be formed two colonies, — one of *cives veteres* (old citizens), and the other of *cives novi* (new citizens), — and only with time were the two amalgamated. Kyme, as I have pointed out, was among the twenty-eight colonies; *Colonia Julia*, an epigraphic tablet designates it. But at that time, and still less, at a later period, to be a colony was not regarded as a dishonor. The *jus coloniae*, or colonial status, was solicited by imperial cities, as in the case of Puteoli, the classification being regarded as a distinction.

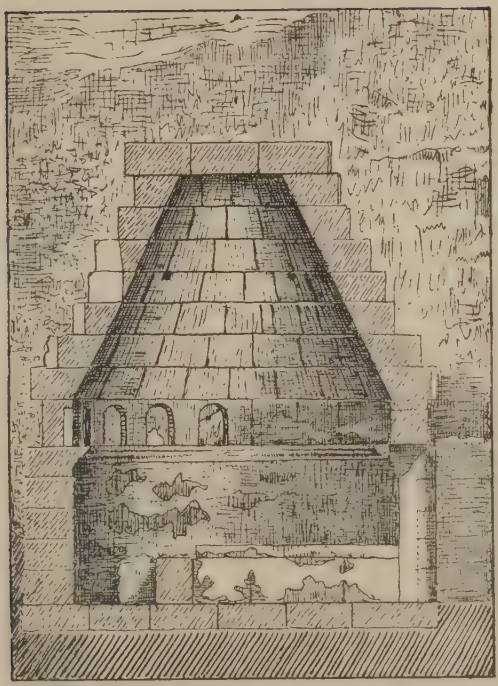
For, while in the Republican age, the *municipia* occupied the first rank, in the imperial age, the post of honor belonged to the colony, since the *municipia*, in the measure that their independence diminished, lost their ancient dignity.

As a colony, Kyme was governed by two *praetores*, two *aediles*, and one *quaestor* with an *ordo decurionum*. The office of *quaestor* and of *curator pecuniae* were, as at Venusia, held by one person. But at that time, Kyme was no longer a Greek city. As early as 180 B. C., the Roman infiltration was such, that Latin was declared the official language. (Livy XL, 42). The senate allowed the use of the language of Rome in the conduct of public affairs and in the sale of merchandise by auction. But it appears to have been more of a command than a concession.

THE IMPRESS OF ROME.

> And you perchance, trample the dust
> of a proud Roman beauty.

In the first centuries of the Empire the city comprised an extensive area. This is evident from the ruins of Roman construction, which we see descending from the Arco Felice, along the Via Domitiana, in the neighborhood of the amphitheatre, on the hills to the west of the shores, and on the acropolis. Up to the close of the sixth century; could be seen huge arched walls, which served as substructures for buildings (fig. 53). All of the valley east of the rock is sown with Roman ruins, among which is a structure built of regu-



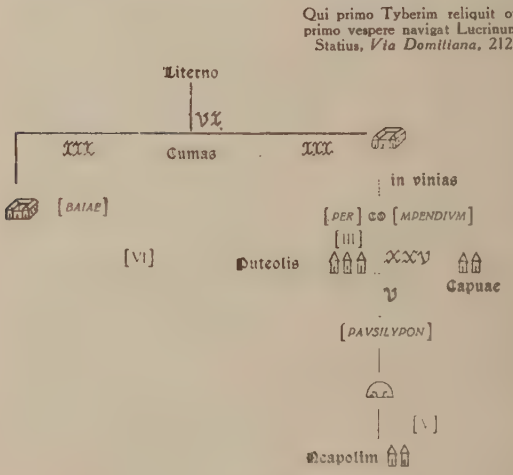
(Fig. 58)
Tholos tomb, sectional view.
(from *Mon. Ant.* XIII, 205).

larly cut parallelepipeds placed together without cement, and dating from the Greek epoch. It is known as the Sepulchre of the Sibyl. De Lorenzo correctly states, that while the remains of Greek civilization should be sought in the soil that covers them, the vestiges of Roman power, survive with unimpaired majesty in the grandeur of moles, temples, baths and theatres, in the nobility of aqueducts and villas, in the beauty of the sepulchres and in the solemnity of the great paved roads. With his advent into Campania, the Roman carried with him there, as everywhere, the unmistakable marks of his civilization, — those superb highways, that even today, after more than two thousand years, indicate the chief military and commercial lines of the penisula.

The *Itineraries of Antoninus* mentioned the coast branch of the Via Appia, which ran between Sinuessa and Puteoli by way of Kyme. It was built by the Consul Sempronious at the close of the second Punic War. But the road, damaged through age, had become impracticable. To make it worthy of his imperial presence, the Emperor Domitian ordered it to be thoroughly repaired; it was consequently paved with flint-stone, the remains of which we see today.

The Via Domitiana, celebrated by the court

poet Statius (IV, 3) passed through Kyme and ran towards Avernus, where it forked. One branch descended to Baiae and followed the coast line to Puteoli. The other branch, which was a shorter route, encircled the northern shore of Avernus and thence to Puteoli, the great emporium of Rome.



Itinerary Diagram.

The existence of a direct route between Kyme and Capua, affirmed by some, is now seriously

doubted. Instead, another road led from Puteoli to Capua, (from the neighborhood of the temple of Neptune) and was known as the *Consolare* (Pliny XVIII, cap. XI) or *Campana*, the name it bears

(Fig. 59)

Architectonic terra cotta. Dionysos looking at a satyr who carries an amphora of wine. (Osta excavations, 1904, near the Arco Felice).

to the present time. This road was bordered with sepulchres (columbaria), the remains of which have reached us. Of this eternal whirl of life, De Lorenzo observes: "The Romans were as aware

as the Greeks, sharing that same profundity of sentiment which prompted them to adorn the sarcophagus of death with the luxurious scenes of life. And like them, they placed their sepulchres along the sides of their greatest roads, where, vivid, pulsating and mad, rolled the torrent of their life ".

(Fig. 60)

Architectonic terra cotta. Drunken Silenus, supported by an Eros and preceded by a Maenad sounding the timbrel. (Osta excavations). *(Photo National Museum, Naples).*

Thus, they attained a double end. On the one hand, the tombs were not the objects of repugnance

nor of tears, but were tokens of veneration for the departed and of respect for the great. On the other hand, those houses of death along the ways

(Fig. 61)
Gold fibulae with filigree decorations.
b. 500.

of life were constant reminders of the brevity of life itself, to those who were plunged in the most intense pursuit of its pleasures.

> The breeze borne from the tombs of the ancients, arrives charged with perfume, as from a hill of roses.
>
> *Goethe.*

It is from the seats of death, that the archaeologist reconstructs the life of vanished cities. In Kyme, especially, the funeral furnishings have again woven the pattern of the ancient civilization, of which nothing more than a pallid memory would remain.

Let us commence with the various types of the Greco-Samnite tombs. The most frequent are those of tufa slabs which form rectangular coffers. Numerous also are the cradle shaped tombs, with covering slabs that rest on a projection, or a kind of cornice. But the most favored type during the Greco-Samnite period was the sepulchral chamber with a roof affording double drains. Some had one, and others, two funeral couches. In some, the opening of the entrance had a frame, and the ancient tufa walls were dressed with a more recent stucco. The most remarkable among them is the sepulchre discovered in 1891 on the Correale estate, from which a painting, executed on three large blocks of tufa, was removed to the National Museum, Naples (fig. 57). Seated on the right,

(Fig. 62)

Late Attic Hydria with gilt reliefs, representing the divinities of the Mysteries. (*Mon. Ant.* XXII, t. C.).

is the life-sized figure of a woman. Her mass of hair is held by a high cap. She wears a white chiton and has a red mantle, stripped with black and closed at the neck with a gold fibula. Her adornments are gold earrings, a necklace and bracelets. In her right hand she holds an oval mirror of gold, with a long handle, and is evidently admiring herself. The type of the figure gives a more realistic than ideal impression. Approaching this seated figure is another female figure, a servant. In her right hand she holds an *alabastron* and on the palm of her left hand rests a *kalathos,* with two pomegranites near its edge. The painting is of mediocre execution and represents the toilette of a bride. It is important however, because it shows the transformation of the Greek into the Italic art.

As the result of its peculiar form the *tholos* (domed, or with cupola) tomb was brought to light on Feb. 7, 1902, on the Artiaco estate. (fig. 58). It is not only the sole example of the type discovered in the necropolis of Kyme, but the only one in all southern Italy. Its shape resembles a vertical cylinder supporting a trunk of cone.

On the circular walls forming an intersecting arched vault, opens an entrance, which is closed with a large rectangular parallelepiped. The tomb lies in a ditch filled with ruins and its exterior

has the aspect of nothing more than a mass of rough blocks. On the inside, however, these blocks are well cut and set with such precision that the lines formed by their intersection are not visible beneath the fine, thin coating of plaster, giving the whole inner surface a continuous effect, broken only by the beautiful molding of the cornice.

The *tholos* tomb, the grandest example of the Cumaean sepulchral architecture, was once believed

(Fig. 63)
Didrachma *mixo-barbaro* style.
The monster Scylla is shown on the reverse.

to be a most ancient and notable monument of the Mycenaean civilization, to which is attributed this particular style. But a more careful examination eliminated such a theory. It has been established that certain blocks of the tomb had served for other anterior constructions and that the surfaces of some had been redressed with plaster. Plaster was not used in Kyme until the Samnitic

period was well advanced. Wherever there were Greeks of the archaic age, there too, were insuperable masters in the art of construction without cement, an art which depended upon the precision of the cutting and polishing of the surfaces of the broad flat stones destined for the abodes of the dead and the walls of the city. The *tholos* tomb is attributed now to the third or fourth century B. C., imitating, like the Aegean tomb, the primitive huts of the peasants. About the end of the third Century, begins a new type of sepulchral architecture — oriented from north to south — and, employing of parallelopipeds with a stele above.

Upon examination of numerous vases, Gabrici came to the conclusion that in the Greco-Samnitic age, after a long pause, there was a revival of ceramics manufacture in the red figured vases, and that descending from this phase, there was manifested a repetition of the Greek industry, which explains the prevalence of the black varnished ware. Thus, a period characterized by the red figured vases of Cumaean make was followed by a second of black varnished types, designated simply Etrusco-Campanian, while the third, produced only decadant native pottery.

The figured terracottas, belonging almost exclusively to the last period, are very few in number.

The archaic terracotta shows materials of frank imitation or of importation. They are for the most part, vases shaped in the form of women or of animals. In the tombs of the sixth and fifth centuries, when Attic commerce prevailed, we find no figured terracottas. These are instead, the speciality of the Greco-Samnite tombs. We lack therefore an intermediary between the archaic and the Hellenistic forms. The terracottas of the Greco-Samnitic tombs do not reveal a refined taste, and may easily be confounded with the still more common examplars of Campania.

The metallic objects and the personal ornaments are worthy of more than passing mention. The fibula, which remained in use, appears as a swelling arch, adorned with a small sphere, a stirrup, or a staff with a tiny ball shaped head. There are a few magnificent examplars of gold fibulae. The Cumaean artisans were adept in producing many filigree designs on a very small metal surface. On a single fibula the designs are distributed among palms, spirals, volutes and tiny flowers (fig. 61).

The poverty of the precious metal in the Greco-Samnitic tombs accounts for the lack of rings and necklaces. The more common rings are of silver with cornelian scarabei or with filigree ornaments. The engraved stones are of Etruscan workmanship.

(Fig. 64)

Outfit from Cumaean tomb, sold in Paris in 1905. Necklace with little plates of wrought gold, another with little perforated leaf pendants, a cylindrical fastener, set of hair ornaments in design of two pomegranates, earrings in cornucopia form, bracelets, etc. (*Mon. Ant.* XXII, plate CXIII).

The tombs of the penthouse type contain the finest gold. One of them has yielded a necklace adorned with sphinx figures and taurine heads of Achelous and of Herakles, together with splendid gold fibulae and other interesting objects. To a similar tomb undoubtedly belonged a bridal outfit sold in Paris in 1905 (fig. 64), which is known to us, however, only through a reproduction (Plate CXIII, *Mon. Ant.* XXII). Necklaces of silver were also found at Kyme.

(Fig. 65)

Didrachma of Neapolitan type; human-headed bull and flying victory. (Phocian system, about 343 B. C.).

The iron found was employed principally for spear points, strigils, fibulae and pins. The buckles are of bronze, the metal which was more commonly used for jewelry, mirrors and ornamental studs. A bronze mirror, with a handle formed of a group of Eros and Aphrodite, was discovered in 1904, and is now to be seen in the Vienna Museum. It is a splendid work of Greek art.

In 1856, the curiousity of the world of art and letters was aroused by the discovery of a handsomely adorned wooden *pixis,* which has been reconstructed and placed in the precious metals collection hall of the National Museum, Naples. The size of this little coffer, is indicated by its duplicated ornaments. It rests on four bone feet, each adorned with the figure of a siren. In the frontal zone there are Caryatids and Telamons in basrelief. The cover, moving on a hinge, shows a decoration consisting of four bone squares, one within the other, and in the center, a stud held by a bronze nail. The *pixis* contained many objects of the feminine toilette, among them, a mirror, the handle of which is dressed with leather. In 1923, were found several fragments of bone that perhaps constituted a similar toilette box.

In the Greco-Samnitic tombs of the earliest period, one looks in vain for the beautiful polychrome glass of the rich Hellenistic Cumaean tombs. These trifles, imported by maritime commerce, were regarded as great luxuries. The alabasters are spindle-shaped. The more tapering type are cut off, or broken at the top. The bodies are striped lengthwise with undulating lines of various colors, or with "fish-bone" lines. For the most part, they are of Alexandrine workmanship. The glass

ware is of mediocre grade, and is to be attributed to the final phase of the Greco-Samnitic period of Cumaean history. The *anforetta* is the most numerous of the glass products. There also have been found quantities of crudely engraved amber, used, probably, for some trinket.

Ancient sources agree that the Samnite invasion of Campania greatly disturbed the social order, and that Kyme, more than any other city, suffered from the consequences. The upheaval in Cumaean industrial life is indicated by various signs of decadence appearing in the coinage series. The glyptic art really commenced to be standardized about 460 B. C., and from that time onward, became ever more impoverished.

Due to foreign influence, the designs of the heads assume a meagre and sketchy aspect. In place of the pure and idealistic Hellenic style, to which ought to lead the Attic-Syracuse models, we now find coins of a bizarre type, in striking contrast with Greek technique and sentiment. This disruption of the artistic tradition may be laid entirely to the account of the Samnites. Amongst the few coins, particular interest attaches to one that bears the figure of Scylla on its obverse. The arms of the raging monster are extended forward with a menacing gesture. Its chest is covered with scales,

while the body tapers off to a tail with tentacles (fig. 63). Behind its shoulder, are the heads of two dogs. Two other very interesting coins are those with the effigy of Glaukos and the three-headed Cerberus. One coin of this period bears the letter Σ which is perhaps the initial of the engraver.

When the capitulation of 420 B. C. came, the Samnite element had already begun to filtrate into the Cumaean population. But with that event all land and sea commerce suddenly ceased, and for a long time afterwards, the Cumaean region remained in isolation. It is not improbable that the invaders of an inferior degree of civilization, after having destroyed the ancient and glorious colony, abandoned it to the hands of a gang of scoundrels. However, an examination of the ceramics indicates that in the first half of the fourth century there was a slow revival of maritime trade, together with the introduction of the manufacture of Greco-Samnitic pottery, that used as a model, the last products of the Attic ceramics industry. From the original Greek importations to Campania, the Cumaean ceramist copied not only the style, but the forms. With the wane of Kyme's importance, however, in the third century, the activity of the Cumaean factories, with their peculiar characteristics, gradually slackened and finally, almost ceased.

Neapolis, meanwhile, profiting from the catastrophe that had befallen Kyme, attracted the Attic commerce to herself, and extended her supremacy in the interior regions of Campania and Samnium. Some of the Cumaean coinage even copied Neapolitan types (fig. 65). And when the city resumed her function of a sea-port again, she had to face the strong competition of Neapolis.

But the hour of her decadence was at hand. The fall of Capua (211 B. C.) and the submission of Kyme (215 B. C.) opened the way for Roman politics. And Rome, absorbing the vital elements of the culture of a subject people, elaborates them and calmly, but with an iron will, imposes them on the world she dominates.

THE ROMANS IN THE PHLEGRAEAN FIELDS

(Fig. 66)

Glass vase of the Borgian Museum, with representation of the Baian coast. (*Bull. Arch. Nap.* N. S. I.)

THE FAVORITE SUMMER RESIDENCE OF THE ROMANS.

Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amoenis.
Horatius, *Ep.* I, I, 83.

From the beginning of the Republican era the Campi Flegrei commenced to be frequented by Romans who were attracted by the natural beauty of the place and the mildness of the climate. On the slopes of the sunny hills and along the beaches, lapped by the emerald waves, villas and baths arose as if by magic. During the summer months, statesmen and other dignitaries, worn-out by the responsibility and effort imposed by power, retired there for quiet and recreation. The spot gradually became the favorite asylum for those who had been eliminated from active political life in its ceaseless fluctuations, or those who found the great

city tiresome. The Campi Flegrei seemed to them to have been created expressly to make one forget the sorrows and burdens of life.

Baiae was the site preferred to all others. Its name, according to the legend mentioned by Lycophron, was derived from the pilot Baius, who was buried there. This mariner, like Misenus, was the companion of Odysseus. Only later was diffused the legend that Misenus was the companion and trumpeter of Aeneas. The first hint of the latter association is given by Stesichorus of Himera, who inspired the *Tabula Iliaca*, a stucco bas-relief found among the ruins of a temple on the Appian Way and now, preserved in the Capitoline Museum. On this celebrated tablet the trumpeter is shown embarking on the ship of Aeneas with sails set for Hesperia. As has been noted, Aeneas became a national hero through the Virgilian poetry, and since he was such a great wanderer, it did not seem improbable that he should have founded and given his name to so many cities. We have already seen that the island of Ischia (Aenaria) had taken, according to the legend, its name from the hero, who perhaps landed there. Many *eponimi* and *oikisti* were numbered among his own crew. The legend further holds that Capri received its name from his cousin; Procida, (*Prochúte*, the projected) from

one of his nephews; Capua, (more probably from *caput* or from *campus,* from whence *campanus*) from his grandfather, Capys; and Gaeta, from his nurse. Today, however, the name of Gaeta is linked with *aietes* which signifies *eagle,* and which is moreover, the name of a personage connected with the legend of the Argonauts.

We sail, obviously, in a perilous sea. It is safer to withdraw to terra firma and reflect, without drawing any conclusion, that Baiae, in the Neo-Latin, English, and other languages, simply denotes *gulf.* And as Horace wrote to Maecenas, there is not a more beautiful one in the whole world.

The charm of the site became known to the Romans while they were encamped in the Phlegraean Fields, in order to divert and weaken Hannibal's army. Until that time Baiae was merely a part of Kyme, but now, began the development of its independent life. In social importance, at least, Baiae grew with dizzying rapidity. The value of land increased tenfold, as it became more and more fashionable to have a villa on the shores of the *sinus bajanus.* Classical writers have left us the names of many proprietors of villas there, but since time and the hand of man have wrought almost complete destruction, it would be quite impossible to locate them, and it is indeed difficult even to

group them in chronological order. More often, they arose along the sea front, as it was the vogue to have private aquariums, in which fish and the choicest mollusks were kept.

Amongst the oldest villas, were those of L. Crassus (Plin., *N. H.* XXXI, 2) and of C. Marius (id., XVII, 7), the victor over the Cimbrians. Of the orator, L. Crassus, it is recorded that he had a passion for lampreys. When one of them died, he put on mourning. This called forth an attack upon him in the Senate by Domitian. "What a fool you are, Crassus, to weep over a dead beast!". "That's true", retorted Crassus, "but you have laid three wives in the sepulchre and have wept for none of them!". I shall speak later of the villa of C. Marius, the remains of which are still visible. Until a short time ago, one could see the ruins of a villa that probably belonged to the Roman citizen C. Hirrius (Varro, *De re rustica*, III, 17). It is related of him, that having been asked by Julius Caesar for six thousand lampreys for an imperial banquet, he gave them, but only as a loan. His villa, though not very large, sold for forty thousand sestercii. Another villa celebrated for its fish ponds was that of Domitian (Plin. *Ep.* V, 4). The ponds were connecting and contained various kinds of fish, among them, salp, wolfish, mullets, etc. It is

(Fig. 67)
Baths-known as temple of Venus (Baiae).

(Phot. Lembo)

related that they were so tame that on being called, they would come to the edge of the basins to be fed. The sarcastic Martial had this in mind when in one of his epigrams (IV, 34) he advised fishermen not to go too near these ponds, since the fish were held sacred. Domitian's villa can be approximately located, as it was near that of Julia Mammea (Tacit., *Ann.* XIII), on a site called *Mammeo*, and corrupted to today *Marmeo*. It was built for her by her son, Alexander Severus; one of its features was a small artificial lake containing rare fish.

Next to the villa of Domitian was that of Piso (Tacit., *Ann.* XV), where he lived with his beloved Arria. This villa is usually located near the sudatorium of Tritoli, and more precisely, in the neighborhood of the so-called temple of Diana, now known to have been baths, — the Pisonian thermae which were connected with the villa. Dispensing with his usual guards, Nero used to come to the delightful and secluded spot to keep his amorous appointments (Tacit., *Ann.* XV, 52). A plot to assassinate the emperor who had not only desolated his own paternal house, but Rome and the empire as well, was to have reached consummation in the gardens of this villa, with the help of the courtesan Epicharis. It was proposed to Piso, but bound by the sacred obligations of

hospitality, he refused to participate. His sentiment proved fatal. When the conspiracy was discovered by Volusius Proculus, chiliarcha (commander) of the fleet of Misenum, Piso was compelled to open his veins; his own ruin involved that of Seneca, Lucan, Petronius and others. Not far from the villa of Piso was the villa of Domitia Lepida. She was related to Nero but, in his unscrupulousness, the fact did not prevent him from having her poisoned so that he might take all of her possessions.

Since the cruel figure of Nero dominates this region, I shall digress, in order briefly to indicate some of the strange things related of him. Nero himself had a great villa at Baiae. Sogliano believes that the facade must have recalled that of the *Domus aurea* of Rome, with a colossal statue occupying the middle of the triple portico. Behind the villa, as in the *Domus*, there was a pool or navigable basin. The colossal statue of the *Domus* was one of Nero, but in the Baiae villa it was of a Dioscurus, found in 1887, in the locality today known as the *Stufe di Nerone*, or "Nero's vapor baths". This statue is now in the National Museum at Naples (fig. 68). The basin was that which bears the name of *Stagnum Neronis* (fig. 66) in the inscription to the important represen-

(Fig. 68)
Statue of Dioscurus, recovered at Baiae in 1887
(From the house of Nero?).
(Phot. *Nat. Museum*)

tation of the coast of Baiae appearing on the glass vase in the Borgian Museum of Propaganda. Ciriaco d'Ancona, an archaeologist, who in the fifteenth century travelled through these countries, has left a record of the ruins of this villa.

Among the many spectacular projects which Nero conceived, was that of conveying the waters of Baiae to a small lake near Avernus (the Lucrine lake?) which he proposed to surround with colonnades. But he wished to have his name linked with a far greater enterprise. In fact, he appears never to have conceived, nor wished for anything that was not huge, monstrous, or extravagant. Tacitus describes him as eager for all that is incredible. He had even considered cutting through the Isthmus of Corinth. But the auguries for the undertaking were not favorable. The sibylline books gave out the prophecy that the dog pursuing the lion, would be killed by shepherds, lose the sceptre, and be cast down into Hades.

He conceived another extraordinary project of a similar nature for Italy, when he planned to join Baiae to Rome by a canal, which, if completed, would have been one hundred and sixty miles long and wide enough for two quadriremes to pass abreast. Severus and Celeris, the architects who had built the *Domus aurea*, being skillful, and eager

to test their art even with projects which were formidable or quite impossible, made Nero believe that it was a feasible undertaking. Tacitus observes that the canal would have passed through dull, monotonous country, enclosed by rugged, barren hills, and even had it been possible to cut through them, the result would not have justified the labor. For this work which was intended to astonish the world, those condemned to capital punishment were destined; but the difficulties seemed to be insurmountable. Moreover a secret hope had been shattered; a Roman knight, Cesellius Bassus, had failed to make good his promise to discover for the emperor the treasure that Dido had carried from Tyre! Having suffered many delusions, Nero abandoned the enterprise, and embittered, set about avenging himself on humanity by killing and plundering.

NERO AND AGRIPPINA.

"Veneno, an ferro, vel qua alia vi".
Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV. 3.

But on the golden shore of Baiae, Nero was to commit a still more atrocious crime. The various animosities between him and his mother Agrippina, whom he had many times tried to put out

(Fig. 69)
Vapor baths of Tritoli, popularly, " Baths of Nero ".

(Phot. Brogi)

of the way, constitute a long and brutal tale. But fate willed that the hideous matricide should have as its setting this smiling, Phlegraean region. Modern historical research has but little to add or to modify in the account of it given by Tacitus in Book XIV of his *Annals*. Nero was in doubt as to what means he should use to get rid of his mother, when an expedient was suggested to him by the freedman, Anicetus, commander of the fleet at Misenum, who was Nero's boyhood teacher, and thoroughly hated by Agrippina. He made him see that he could build a boat expressly for the purpose of having it fall to pieces on the high seas, and that Agrippina could thus be thrown overboard and drowned. No one, Anicetus explained, would ever accuse Nero, as Agrippina would be regarded as one of the many victims of shipwreck caused by the violence of wind and wave. To prevent suspicion, the emperor could build a temple to her memory as a token of his filial love.

The idea found favor with Nero, who at that time was celebrating at Baiae the feast of the *Quinquatri*, in honor of Minerva. The Quinquatri was observed in March, beginning on the fifth day after the Ides, and lasting for five days, from the nineteenth to the twenty-third, inclusive. On the first day, a white bull was sacrificed; the re-

maining four days were devoted to feasts, games, contests, etc. It served as a pretext to summon Agrippina, who believed that her son sought a reconciliation. Accordingly, she hastened from Antium. Upon his mother's arrival, the emperor went to the beach to meet her, kissed her, and accompanied her to her villa. In the gulf, was a very pretentious vessel and Nero invited her to a banquet aboard. But vaguely sensing some snare, she preferred to be conveyed to Baiae by litter. There his blandishments quelled her fears; he received her graciously and had her placed near himself at the sumptuous banquet, and when she departed, he accompanied her and kissed her repeatedly.

Agrippina returned by the ostentatious barge. The peaceful and starlit night and the calm sea seemed specially designed by the gods to reveal the crime which was about to be committed. The vessel was not very far out, when at a given signal, part of the upper deck fell with a crash, and a household servant, (Crepereius Gallus) was killed beneath it. Agrippina and her slave, Acerronia, managed to escape uninjured, as their beds were above the fallen structure and were solidly built. In the general confusion, the disintegration of the vessel was arrested, but it sank slowly. Imprudently,

Acerronia cried that she was Agrippina, the mother of the emperor, and that she must be saved; in answer to her plea, she was struck by an oar and killed. Agrippina made no sound, and at first swimming, and then, boarding a fishing boat, she crossed over Lake Lucrinus and was taken to her villa.

Agrippina realized that she had been betrayed, but thought it wiser to pretend that she was unaware of the fact. So, she sent the freedman, Agerinus, to announce to her son, that thanks to the grace of the gods and to his good fortune, she had been saved from a grave accident, and that she would dispense with her promised visit to him. Nero had expected entirely different news. Already he saw his mother planning vengeance. He sent an urgent summons to Burrhus and Seneca, but they could not devise any sure and safe way of destroying Agrippina. The unsavory task was again entrusted to Anicetus.

As the news of Agrippina's rescue spread, crowds of people flocked to the beach, and soon it rang with wailing and cries and prayers. Anicetus at once had the villa surrounded with guards, and arrested the slaves whom he found on the grounds. Through fear, all abandoned Agrippina. When the last maidservant was about to leave her she said: "And you too, are deserting me"? Anicetus

accompanied by a captain of a trireme and by a centurion, entered her room. " If you come to visit me ", exclaimed Agrippina, know that I am recovered; but if you are here to commit a crime, my son could not have ordered you to murder his mother. But the assassins surrounded her bed, and Herculeius, the trierarch, struck her on the head with a club. While the centurion was brandishing his sword to kill her, she offered her body, saying: " Destroy the womb that bore such a monster ". She died, pierced by many wounds.

In the account of these details there is perfect accord. Did Nero really contemplate the lifeless body of his mother and praise the beauty of her form ? There are those that affirm it and others who deny it. With miserable obsequies, Agrippina was cremated the same night on a banquet couch. Not while Nero reigned did she have the honor of a tomb. Later, the devotion of her intimate friends procured for her a humble sepulchre on the Misenean road, near the villa of the dictator Caesar, on the heights that dominated the gulf below. When her funeral pyre was lighted, one of her freedmen, Mnester by name, committed suicide ; it is not clear whether he did so for love of his patroness, or through fear of death. It is said that Agrippina foresaw her tragic end for many

years. The tale holds an astrologer had predicted that Nero would reign but would kill his mother, and to which she replied: "Let her be killed, if he but reign"!

VILLAS, FISHPONDS AND BATHS.

Calidae aquae cum ad luxum tum ad morborum sanationem idoneae.
Strabo, V, 244.

The villa of Julius Caesar, identified by a votive statue found on the site, was, as I have stated, situated on a hill that overlooked the two gulfs. And like the villa of C. Marius and of Pompey, it had more the aspect of a military stronghold than of a private dwelling (Seneca, *Ep.* LI). It appears that in this villa, which belonged later to Augustus, died his nephew, Marcellus, who was chosen to succeed him on the imperial throne. His death in 22 B. C., at the age of twenty years, seems to have been caused by a cold bath taken on the advice of his physician, Antonious Musa, who had made hydrotherapy fashionable. Others say that Livia, wife of Augustus, had him poisoned in order to prepare the succession for Tiberius, her son by her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero (Dion Cass., LIII, 33).

To this youth, who had been dead sometime,

Virgil alludes, as we have seen, with the apostrophe: " *tu Marcellus eris* ". At the reading of the passage, Octavia, the youth's mother, fainted, and upon recovering, kissed the poet and ordered him to be paid ten great sestertii for each verse of the sublime eulogy.

(Fig. 70)
Statue of Marcellus, nephew of Augustus.
(Phot. Alinari)

All the emperors who succeeded Augustus built superb mansions in Baiae, of which Josephus, the Hebrew historian, says: " There are royal palaces

at Baiae adorned with precious furnishings, for the reason that each of the emperors tried to excel his predecessor ".

Before speaking of the social life of Baiae, I shall mention some villas, that were among the most celebrated for their aquariums. In the direction of the present Bacoli, was the villa of the orator Quintus Hortensius (Plin, IX, 35), famed for its fine view. Because of his fish ponds, his rival, Cicero, called him the *Triton*, and the *beatus piscinarius* (the happy fisherman). Hortensius used to employ a band of fishermen to catch small fish as food for large ones, which ate from his own hands. It is told of him that when one of his favorite old muraena died, he shed tears of deep sorrow. To a friend who asked him for two *mulli* (mullets) he replied that he would rather give him two *muli* (mules) from his litter. He had grottoes built in which the fish were not exposed to the summer heat, and Varro reproves Lucullus for not having done likewise. The same Varro relates that many went to see Bacoli solely because of these famous aquariums. Hortensius often invited Antonia, widow of Drusus, to the villa, but never permitted her to catch any of his fish. The villa was finally purchased by Antonia, who inherited the hobby of Hortensius. Pliny (IX, 55) records

that she used to keep in the pond a live muraena, adorned with gold earrings.

The first person to introduce aquariums on the shores of the gulf of Baiae was Sergius Orata, who took his name from a special kind of fish called *orate*. His fishponds are generally identified with the *ostriaria* depicted on the glass vase of fig. 66. To provide for the best type of aquarium, the most elaborate villas were near the sea, or actually in it, on small islands. The arrangement of the sea-side villas of Baiae, — as an expert in submarine archaelogy points out, — was quite characteristic, for they always contained a series of parallel walls forming corridors, with intersecting arches, which served for the covered troughs. The edifice, often of wood, was sometimes supported by these corridors. Sergius Orata was the first also to introduce the pensile baths, patronized by effeminate Romans. Their extensive use is demonstrated by the fact that in this comparatively small city, we find the ruins of three large thermae, which are those commonly known under the names of the temple of Diana, the temple of Venus and the temple of Mercury, popularly called *Truglio*. And not far away, are the ruins of two others, one at the mouth of the tunnel of Baiae, and the other, on the heights known as the "Forest of Baiae",

(Fig. 71)
Baths known as " Truglio ", or temple of Mercury.

(Phot. Brogi)

because of the plane trees which shaded the spot, when ruins were discovered there, first in 1889, and again in 1919.

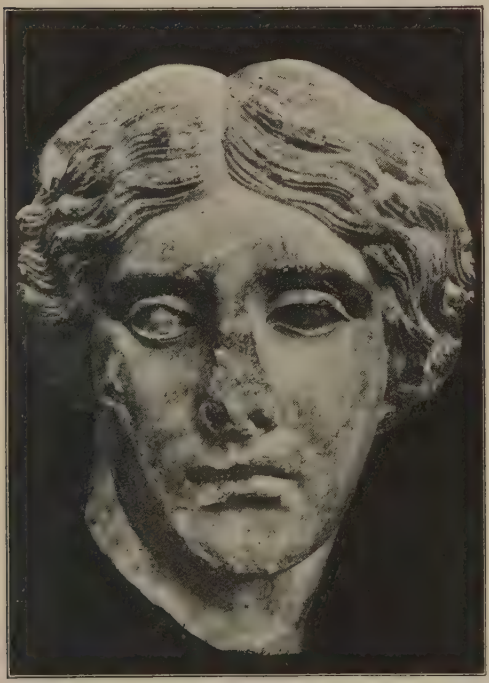
The thermae known as the temple of Diana, (fig. 73) took its name from some bas-reliefs with representations of the chase. Today, only half of the vault exists. The external form of the structure is octagonal, while the interior is circular. It is partly of brick work, and partly reticulate. In 1824, Heller, an Austrian engineer, drew the plans, and discovered traces of the aqueduct, the *calidarium*, the *cryptoporticus*, the *ambulacrum* and of the entrance to the rotunda, adorned by six columns. The semicircular niches were the *scholae* where those who took the baths rested, conversed, or waited to enter the *labrum* (basin). The temple of Venus, (fig. 67 and 74) was held to be a bathing establishment from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and therefore distinguished from that *templum Veneris* which must have also existed in Baiae (Martial mentions the golden beach of the happy Venus) as the work of Caesar in honor of his divine ancestress.

These baths have been recently repaired, with the exception of the vault, which has completely fallen in, leaving in its place a magnificent crown of creeping ivy. The exterior is likewise

octagonal and constructed of brick work and reticulate masonry; here, too, we find several *scholae*. Jacono supposes that this graceful ruin had once been a thermal station from which radiated delightful shaded walks, either built on quays, or on pensiles constructed on the arched corridors called *aestivaria*, and that the establishment was originally in the sea on a small artificial island. But this theory is contrary to the findings of the geologists, who claim that the sea has not withdrawn from the coast, but that the land has lowered, permitting the sea to invade and cover the ruins which one may see here and there from a boat. Naturally, the classical authors speak of the work of the Romans in protecting the shores from the ravages of the sea. Jacono himself argues from a passage in the writings of Pliny that the splendid reddish octagon was the salon of the magnificent baths of Licinius Crassus, whose villa was located on the side of the heights of Baiae. This theory, however, seems to have no stronger foundation than the other which sees in the so-called temple of Diana, the baths of Piso or of Alexander Severus. In my opinion, the structure belonged to public thermae, like the remains of those brought to light in 1919 in the "Baian Woods".

About one hundred metres from the so-called

temple of Venus, many fragments of statues and of architectonic friezes were found in the sea as a



(Fig. 72)
Head of Amazon recovered in the Gulf of Baiae in 1923.
(Phot. Lembo)

result of the dredging operations initiated in June, 1923. The most notable among the former are two pieces of a statue of an Amazon, — a beautiful head (fig. 72), slightly inclined, and the lower part of the body. The statue had been in a niche in an edifice on the sea-shore. Sogliano does not believe that it belonged to a private villa, but to a *schola medicorum* (a medical school or college, or more likely, perhaps, to a sanatorium). Certainly, the statue of an Amazon, which presented to the eye the graceful lines of the youthful female body, rendered more alluring by the warrior's garb, would have been a worthy decoration for a building dedicated to the healing art. Sogliano, however, thinks that they were even more intimately connected. He says, in fact, that no other symbol could represent more appropriately the science of medicine than that of the wounded Amazon. And when not wounded, the Amazon could have well denoted that vigorous, radiant health to be attained through physical exercise.

The theory that there was a medical school in such an important bathing place as Baiae is also confirmed by the discovery of a head of Aesklepias and of a headless female figure presumed to be a statue of Hygeia, the goddess of hygiene.

Returning to the baths, the so-called Temple

(Fig. 73)
The so-called temple of Diana at Baiae.

(Phot. Lembo)

of Mercury (fig. 71) is likewise very well preserved. Its vault was built in the manner anciently designated as *opus testudinatum*, or masonry like tortoise shell. Paoli believes that it was a bathing place exclusively for women, notwithstanding the classical authors, commenting on the licentiousness of Baiae, tell us of magnificent swimming pools in which men and women bathed together without a blush. In the thermae recently discovered in the "Forest" district, (the *silva* of the Bittle vase of the Borgian Museum, represented by entwined and waving foliage,) an engraved inscription recalls the many amorous appointments of the young Erope (whose eyes are the color of the breeze) in this lovely spot.

LUXURY AND VICE.

Litora quae fuerant castis inimica puellis.
Proper., I, XI, 29.

How great and how wide-spread was the corruption of Baiae, may be estimated from the numerous references of the poets and the historians. Here, were concentrated the art and luxury that filtered into the Roman world from the Greek and Asiatic civilizations, and here, they re-blossomed with renewed vigor. "Enemy to maidens", Pro-

pertius says of Baiae. But not only to maidens, judging from a typical example cited by Martial. The matron Levinia, who for her stainless life and irreproachable conduct, could not have been surpassed by the ancient Sabine women, and who was regarded as even more rigid than her learned and austere husband, came to Baiae to take the baths. There, however, she soon fell into the net of illicit love, and abandoned her husband for a youth. Generalizing on this case, Martial wrote his merciless epigram, concluding that from Baiae all Penelopes returned as Helens. In precisely such a place, where the conquerors of the world rushed to squander their wealth in the most unbridled dissipation, Petrarch imagined the triumph of Chastity in the person of Laura. But Boccaccio, with his greater realism, after visiting the shores of Baiae, described with his vivacious pen the recrudescent vice and in a sonnet paraphrases Martial, declaring, that there, Venus had such full and complete license, that often, even a Lucretia returned to her home a Cleopatra.

Cicero, moreover, in his oration for Celius, states that no other place could compare with Baiae as a favored center of lust, debauchery, amours, banquets and indecent songs, and reproves Clodia for the dissolute life she led there. Suetonius

mentions the *tabernae* or *deversoria* (the wayside taverns) and Josephus Flavius records, among the splendors of Baiae, the " royal brothels ". In the grottoes were lodged the numerous women, procured and kept for this ignominious traffic. The most notorious were the *sambucistrie*, the *psaltrie*, and the *ambubaie*, who issued from their dark haunts whenever Nero sailed past, and approaching his barge, tried by a thousand wiles and cajoleries to lure him into rendez vous.

BACOLI.

Recens aetas corrupta Boaulia
Baulos nuncupat.
Symmachus, *Ep.* I.

Proceeding towards Misenum, one comes to the village called Bacoli (Bauli). The name was said to have been a corruption of Boalia (from *bous*, bove, and *aule*, stalle) where Herakles led the herd he had stolen in Spain from Geryon. Today, ridicule greets such a legend, but the historians of antiquity did not hesitate to give out the tale as the truth. A single doubt perhaps can still exist; some place the ancient Bauli between Baiae and Lake Lucrinus; still others, on the promontory that encloses the bay of Baiae. But in favor of the authenticity of the site of the present Bacoli are

the remains of a temple dedicated to Herakles. The edifice, a very notable one, probably peripteral hexastyle in form and of the Doric order, is now submerged in the sea.

In Bacoli, perhaps, was the temple to Venus Genetrix, built by Julius Caesar, not far from his villa. It is narrated that the emperor spent a fortune on its decorations of gold and silver. The feast of Venus Genetrix fell in April; it was observed with the sacrifice at the temple of two white doves. During the celebration, the women wore myrtle wreaths and the image of the goddess was covered with vari-colored roses.

In 1790 there was found in Bacoli, a statue of Venus, about twice life-size, by which the goddess was represented holding a globe in her right hand and in her left, three pieces of fruit.

From time immemorial, some remains of an ancient construction have been designated as the tomb of Agrippina. The vault is adorned with fine stucco work of delicately wrought "grotesques" and animal figures. As far back as 1630, these decorations were known to have been damaged by the smoke of the candles used by the visitors. But on the word of Tacitus, the tomb of Agrippina should be located on the road that winds to the heights and near the villa of the dictator Caesar.

(Fig. 74)
The so-called temple of Venus, with restorations.

The circular form of the alleged tomb, together with the remains of a portico, some rooms and semicircular steps, lead us to believe instead, that it was a circus, or rather a gymnasium, where were held the games sacred to Herakles, whose temple was not far away. Another circus was probably on the site of the ruins today known as the *Mercato di Sabbato*, although some believe it to be the sepulchre of the Misenean fleet.

Two other edifices are of special interest. Before arriving at the parrochial church of Bacoli, one ascends a flight of steps to encounter the famous *Piscina mirabile* (fig. 75), that magnificent reservoir which Agrippa built for the accomodation of the Roman fleet. It is a square, laid out in four rows of pillars, besides the engaged wall columns, and forms as many corridors or parallel porticoes. Each row contains twelve pilasters on which rest the vaults in the form of a cross. In the upper part, open twelve mouths, through which the water entered. Behind the reservoir, there is a deeper place called the *sentina,* designed to collect the lime deposits.

The surface of the walls and of the pilasters show a very hard incrustation produced by the sediment from the dead and stagnant water that has stood there through the centuries.

The other edifice worthy of note is that called the *Cento camerelle* (*centum cellae*), or, "hundred rooms". It is situated at the end of a little hill which rises above the sea at the east of the town. What purpose this structure originally served is not known. Some have decided that it was an auxiliary tank to the *Piscina mirabile;* others, that it was a great cellar for storing wine, oil or wood. The people, however, prefer to believe that it was one of Nero's prisons. Probably, even the designation of "one hundred rooms« is also inaccurate, since there are no more than ten compartments, which very likely acted as a foundation for a floor above.

THE PORT AND THE FLEET OF MISENUM.

Baias a Baio, Misenum a Miseno, quibusdam Ulyssis sociorum cognomina accepisse tradunt.
(Cluverius, *Italia antiqua*).

The Misenean region had great historical importance in antiquity. We have already referred to Misenus as an *eponymos,* or founder. The oldest legend made Misenus a companion of Odysseus (Strab. I. 25), but the common tradition (Dionys. Hal. I, 53) designated him as the companion of Aeneas in his voyage to the shores of Hesperia.

(Fig. 75)
The great reservoir known as *Piscina mirabile*.
(Phot. Brogi)

The myth may have been first localized by the poet Stesichorus, but to the muse of Virgil must be given the credit for popularizing it. There are various versions concerning the end of Misenus. Virgil selects the one which held that Misenus, daring to challenge the gods with his trumpet, was drowned by Triton. Servius, however, a commentator of the poet, says that Aeneas wished to summon the souls of the dead, and not being able to do so without having first slain some man and sacrificed him to the gods of the Inferno, killed his trumpeter, the son, or descendant of Aeolus. Others state that while Misenus was listening to the sibyl, he was suddenly stricken with a fatal illness.

It is certain that through these legends the region (and more particularly the promontory that was at first called the "lofty" or "aerial") came to be called Misenum. The Romans adopted the name after they found it on the fragment of a Greek epigraph. Fevola, with solid arguments, has placed the mythical tomb of the trumpeter on Mount Procida, near Kyme, whence his name would have spread over the whole district.

On the "lofty" or "aerial" promontory, (afterwards called Misenum) although some attributed the name to a reiterative form of *asan*, vapor, others to the Greek *misenos*, (odius) because of

(Fig. 76)
Landscape from the hills of Bacoli : " Mare Morto " and Port Misenum.

the perils to which it exposed the mariner), was the celebrated villa of Lucullus, whose very name suggests a life of gaiety and of luxury. While classical authors do not agree on the point, the villa is supposed to have belonged originally to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, and daughter of Scipio Africanus. Here, she withdrew into voluntary exile, near the place where her father had preceded her to exile and to death. Occasionally, she would receive her friends there and invite them to dine with her. The famous mother of the Gracchi was at this villa when the first of her sons was killed and when the body of the second was brought to her, his head having been delivered to the consul.

The villa was afterwards bought for seventy-five thousand *denarii*, by C. Marius, who had been seven times consul. He made elaborate improvements, and furnished it with an exotic taste that ill became a man of so many wars and expeditions, and one reputed to be of so stern a character. Plutarch, in his life of Marius, states that when war was declared against Mithridates, and Marius was appointed commander, the populace held a riot over the selection, shouting: "Let Marius spend the summer in his villa between Misenum and Baiae!".

The villa then passed to Lucius Lucullus who

paid two and one half million sestertii for it. He in turn adorned it, and made it so much more extensive that he might well be called its real founder. The villa connected with many caverns hollowed out of the mountain for fish ponds, and delightful, sequestered nooks, a plan that he had carried out in his other villa at Pausilypon. Lucullus also planted magnificent gardens, surrounding them with walls, the remains of which are to be seen today. In this villa died Tiberius, when on the petition of the Roman senate, he left Capri to go to Rome. He arrived at the suburbs of the capitol, but deciding not to enter, turned back. He never again set foot on his beloved Capri, for suddenly stricken, he stopped at the villa of Lucullus, where his strange life came to an end. His death was probably hastened by his nephew, Caligula. (Suet. *Tiberius,* LXXIV).

The villa, which was almost as large as a town, then passed to Valerius Asiaticus, and in order to gain possession of it, Messalina and Vitellius had him murdered.

Thus in this Neapolitan gulf, history's dismal and tragic memories overshadow the serene and joyous visions. Capri, the tranquil and blameless retreat of Augustus, is the asylum of the sinister Tiberius. Baiae, the charming rendezvous of the

fashionable Roman world, is the theatre of the mad enterprises of Caligula and of the inhuman depravities of Nero.

Descending from the promontory, from which, as Phaedrus (II, 5) said, both the Sicilian and the Tuscan seas are visible, we come to the ancient port of Misenum, "good and deep", to quote Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It was divided into two communicating basins. The Cumaeans used it for their small vessels. The Romans developed it to a high degree and built many fine edifices around it and Augustus reduced it to a double port as a safe base for his galleys of war. He had established two fleets: one at Ravenna for the protection of the Adriatic Sea, and the other at Misenum to guard the Tyrrhenian. It was the only naval port of Rome, just as Pozzuoli was the only great mercantile port, until Claudius built that of Ostia.

Agrippa opened communication between the two basins and narrowed the entrance to the open bay by constructing a breakwater with arches and pillars. Vestiges of the *pilae* are still to be seen, and there are some medals extant which commemorate this great construction work of Agrippa.

The stationing of the fleet there stimulated the building of villas in the vicinity; to meet the

needs of the townspeople and the sailors, a theatre was erected, almost at the mouth of the port. It was not very large, but could hold between ten and twelve thousand persons. The remains of a movable stage and the traces of a corridor, which for convenience, ran to the harbor, are still visible.

Naturally, a large zone was devoted to the sepulchres. And the tombstones particularly, which have been brought to light, give us the names of many ships, — Isis, Fides, Vesta, Neptunus, Concordia, Fortuna, Danubius, Rhenus, etc. They reveal too, the titles of various commanders, among them, *praefecti* or *stolarchi, subpraefecti, trierarchi, navarchi, principes* and *centuriones*. One may read also, the names of many sailors, with records of their families and the number of their years.

THE DEATH OF PLINY THE ELDER.

Latissimae flammae, altaque incendia relucebant, quorum fulgor et claritas tenebras noctis pellebant.
Plin. Junior, *Ep.* VI, XVI.

Amongst the commanders of the fleet, we have already encountered the cruel figure of Anicetus; but the spirit will find more repose at Misenum in recalling the great nobility of Pliny the Elder.

The celebrated naturalist was the commander of the Roman fleet, when in the year 79 A. D., occurred the catastrophe at Pompeii and Herculaneum. As soon as he heard the cries raised by the Miseneans on account of the phenomena that accompanied the eruption of Vesuvius, he went to an elevated place where he could better observe the prodigious spectacle. Not content with this, he wished to betake himself to the very zone of horror and death, where all were fleeing in terror and in grief, in order to make closer observations of the singular aspects of nature. Before embarking in his light war galley, he invited his nephew Pliny to follow him, but the young man replied that he preferred not to interrupt his studies. After giving aid to certain villages in the neighborhood of Misenum, the naturalist turned his prow towards the cities situated on the slopes of the "exterminating Vesuvius", and while he was intent upon that terrible and marvellous scene, and dictating his observations, he was distracted by the rain of glowing ashes and by the panic that had taken possession of his men. He approached the ancient Stabiae (near the present Castellammare) and there, met his friend Pomponianus, who, in order to escape from the calamity, loaded his baggage on his ships, Pliny trying to encourage and cheer him,

took him to the baths and then to dinner, and remained with him until he retired.

Pliny remained in the home of Pomponianus, but as the shower of burning cinders became more dense and threatened to entomb the house, he was aroused by the servants, with whom he ran towards the sea, having his head covered with a pillow. Reaching the beach, he stretched himself on a sheet, but when he wished to follow the others who fled headlong on the approach of some new warning, he could not move, for a cloud of sulphur gas rendered breathing impossible.

This much is revealed by a letter from Pliny the Younger to Tacitus, who, not satisfied with the notice of the great naturalist's death which he received the following day, requested a more detailed account of the frightful eruption. In reply, the young man wrote his remarkable letter which deserves to be read in its entirety.

THE PEACE BETWEEN CAESAR, ANTHONY AND POMPEY.

Utinam, Menodorus, hoc absque me posset perficere; nam illi perjurium convenire non Pompeio.
Appianus, *De bello civ.*, V.

Misenum was the scene of another famous historical event. In the port of Misenum was signed

the peace, of short duration, between the triumvirs, Caesar Octavius and Anthony, on one side, and Sextus Pompey at the head of a large army of partisans, on the other. When the appointed day arrived, Pompey, with great display, passed with his ships, making show of the fact that he did not fear the enemy. Octavius and Anthony were on the beach with their strong legions drawn up behind them. On the following day they had bridges built between the beach and the vessels; there the three held a conference. Pompey asked to be named triumvir in place of Lepidus. The other two did not grant this but made other concessions, including the government of Sicily for a period of five years, and an agreement was thus reached. The parley over, the treaty was drawn up and given to the keeping of the Vestals; the three, amid great applause, kissed, and banquetted together.

As chance would have it, Pompey extended the dinner invitation first, and when Anthony asked him where the dinner would be prepared, Pompey, winking to his captain, replied: " In my *carinae* ", thus giving him a stinging reminder that he had stolen his house in Rome, situated in the quarter of the *Carinae*. While Anthony, amid the laughter of the party, was in turn taunting the al-

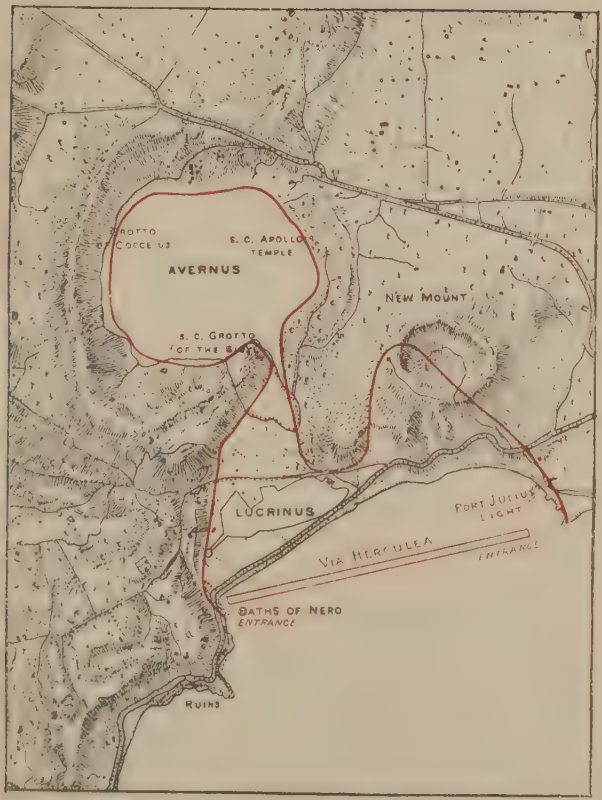
ready intoxicated Lepidus, describing to him the crocodile of the Nile, the freedman, Menas, approached Pompey and asked: "Do you wish me to cut the cables, liberate you from all these persons, and make you the sole master of the world?" Pompey, after a moment's reflection answered: "It should have been done without telling me. I am not accustomed to breaking my sworn word".

This scene is marvellously reconstructed by Shakespeare in the second act of *Anthony and Cleopatra*. The peace, I might add here, was confirmed with nuptials, for the daughter of Pompey married the young Marcellus, nephew of Augustus. The union was commemorated by a medal on which the Julian star rises above an armed lion, while Marc Anthony is shown with his foot on a prow, to indicate the Roman power on the sea.

THE JULIAN HARBOR.

An memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra.
Verg. *Georg.* II, 164.

Nevertheless, the insincere peace was not destined to last long. Octavius was forced to make war on Pompey who was in Sicily. But near Scylla, his fleet, caught in the whirpools of the strait and



(Fig. 77)

The ancient port Julian, according to the reliefs of Deecke.

then, in a fierce storm, was practically destroyed. It was therefore necessary to rebuild it. The work was done in Lucrinus and Avernus and the famous Julian harbor was thus created. The task was assigned to Marcus Vispanius Agrippa, a warrior who had shared the rising fortunes of Caesar Augustus. The " commander of the harbors and of the fleets " obtained the wood necessary for the construction of the vessels by cutting down the forests surrounding Lucrinus and particularly Avernus, the gloomy haunt of the *Kimmeroi*. And in the lakes and on the encircling hills and in the open sea, were drilled the members of this new armada. The two lakes were then converted into a safe port, communication being opened between them and with the sea. Twenty thousand slaves were freed, who devoting themselves to intensive service there, became, in the course of a single year (37 B. C.) skilled in navigation. Lake Lucrinus was used as the fore-port, and Lake Avernus formed a splendid roadstead, more than 30 metres deep, well protected, and even adapted for a wet-dock.

The undertaking was extolled by Virgil in the *Georgics* (Book II, 161-164): " Shall I not make mention of the ports and of the moles added to Lake Lucrinus, and of the fury of the sea, where it is forced to keep at a distance; the Julian wave

breaks into foam, and the waters of the Tyrrhenian mingle with those of Avernus".

In these waters, Agrippa in the presence of Augustus and of twenty thousand persons, reproduced the magnificent spectacle of the battle of Actium.

But the harbor did not reach their expectations; Lucrinus was not deep enough for the larger vessels. It was used, however, until the reign of Titus. All that remains of it today are the ruins of a few *pilae* (piles) and of the lighthouse (marked *faros* on the little Borgian vase) which was originally connected with the beach by a tongue of land, now worn away by the sea. Capaccio describes them in his *Historia Neapolitana* (page 785).

LAKE LUCRINUS.

Ast hic Lucrino mansisse vocabula quondam Cocyti memorat.
Sil. It., XII, 116.

Lake Lucrinus was formerly called Cocytus. Its basin, much larger than it is today, has been abandoned by the fish that used to enter it from the sea. The goldfish were the most celebrated; Cornelius Celsus would prescribe them, together with oysters, for invalids. Varro wrote that at no well-appointed wedding banquet was omitted

(Fig. 78)
Pauper puer ex Baiano Puteolos in ludum literarium itans (Plin., *N. H.*, IX, 8).
Boy riding a dolphin (From an antique print).

fish from Lucrinus. Juvenal relates that Nero was able to distinguish immediately between the oysters that came from the ocean and from Lucrinus. On account of this highly-praised specialty, the lake was a notable source of income for the Romans. After the conquest of Dikearchia, when the city became a Roman colony under the name of Puteoli, Cocytus was listed among the public revenues, and was called Lucrinus, (*lucrum*, gain). When the alluvial deposits damaged the oyster beds, the lease holders had recourse to the Senate; as a result, dykes were ordered to be built, at a great expense, to prevent a recurrence of the loss. The quaestor accordingly, enclosed the lake with an architectural mole, — about two kilometers of embankment, — and thus checked the entrance of the water from the sea. Pliny included Lucrinus among the "wonders" of Italy. Certainly, on its shores, the restfulness and the gaiety of life, enhanced by the natural beauty of the region, served to render existence more gracious than in Rome, torn as it was, by continuous discord and civil war. Seneca narrates (*Epist.* 51) that during the summer nights voluptuous Romans were borne in their barks with merry company and music, and that the roses found floating on the waters next morning, breathed a silent requiem to the passing of the pleasures of the night.

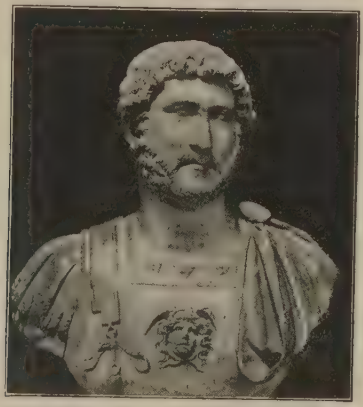
Pliny did not disdain to record this fable (Book IX): a dolphin came into the lake, and a little boy, who lived at Baiae and who attended school at Pozzuoli, made friends with it by feeding it bits of bread (fig. 78). Finally the dolphin became so fond of the lad that it permitted him to get on his back and be transported from one bank of the lake to the other.

Near the sea was the famous villa of Cicero, called the *Academia*, because it had been constructed on the plan of the one in Athens that took its name from its mythical founder, *Akademos*. It was beautified by porticoes and by little groves that extended to the lake. Cicero preferred it to his other villas, but complained at being annoyed there by the multitude of importunate visitors. Here he wrote the *Quaestiones Academicae*, his *De Republica* and his *De Divinatione*. Frequently, he mentioned the villa in his writings. He commissioned Atticus to buy some statues in Greece, among them a *Hermathena* (a double herm of Mercury and Athena), which adorned his rich library. And it was in his gardens that he wished to be laid to rest. But, after his death, this magnificent country house, for which the orator had paid eighty thousand sestercii, passed to Antistius Veteris, a partisan of Caesar. At the rear of the

(Fig. 79)

" Vapore quoque ipso (aliquae) prosunt " — Plin. *N. H.* XXXI. 2 — Interior of vapor baths of Tritoli. (Posidonianae thermae?) — From an old print.

villa were springs, the waters of which were highly recommended for the eyes by the freedman L. Tullus. Many years afterwards, Hadrian was buried there. This emperor came to the villa to experiment with the waters. Finding that all remedies were futile, he tried to commit suicide, but pre-



(Fig. 80)
Bust of Hadrian, with cuirass, recovered at Baiae.

vented, he decided to starve himself to death. He died declaring the doctors had killed him. On the site, Antoninus reared a splendid tomb in the form of a temple, and here his ashes remained until 134 A. D., when they were removed to the

mighty mausoleum in Rome (today known as the Castel S. Angelo).

The site, called the *Ciceroni* and also the *Stadium*, either because of its oblong portico, or because it was the distance of a stadium from Pozzuoli, was altered somewhat by the emergence of Monte Nuovo on Sept. 29, 1538. The region was at first shaken by a severe earthquake; then, from a large opening issued fire, stones and ashes. Finally arose the mountain, killing animals, uprooting trees and destroying harvests (fig. 82). Nevertheless, the ruins of Cicero's villa could be seen until a few years ago. They consisted of a long row of arches that formed a covered passage and many rooms, on which a crude modern house had been built.

Near the villa of Cicero was that of Varro, which now has been identified with the ruins in the *Scalantrone* locality. The two friends, as various writings reveal, often exchanged visits.

LAKE AVERNUS.

Lucrinus et Avernus quaedam maris otia.
Florus, I, XVI.

Florus called the lakes of Lucrinus and Avernus, "two retreats for the sea". Avernus is a volcanic

(Fig. 81)
Pavillion on Lake Avernus. (From an old print.).

crater, the bottom of which forms a lake. A precipitous bank encloses it on all sides, except towards the sea. Besides the etymology of *aornus*, that is to say, "the lake without birds", there is another derivative from *aorn*, which means "launched tree" (pine) or the wood that serves for ships. The lake, in fact, was entirely surrounded by trees, which projected their shadows over the water, so that the ancients called it *lacus niger* (black lake). Strabo remembered when the crater was hidden by an impenetrably dense forest. I have already mentioned some of the fearful legends relating to Avernus, among them, that birds fell lifeless as they attempted to fly over its surface, asphyxiated by the fumes of carbonic acid. The place was reputed to be part of the infernal regions, and no one approached it without first having implored, and offered sacrifice to the gods of the lower world. There too, as has been noted, was the spring which all avoided, as it was believed to be the water of the Styx. Ephorus tells how the *Kimmeroi* dwelling here in subterranean houses that communicated with each other by underground passages, received the people of other races in a sanctuary hollowed out of the depths of the earth. He further states, that by traditional custom, none of them were permitted

to look at the light of the sun, issuing only at dusk from their caves (*argille*) which Ovid called "sanctuaries of sluggish sleep". Without going into a discussion as to the actual existence of these people, recently affirmed by Dall' Osso (*Napoli Nobilissima*, XV, 41), I shall merely mention that their name comes from the Semetic root *k. m. r.*, which means *obscurity*. Probably, they were a band of ruffians who took advantage of the popular superstition to carry on their wicked pursuits. Strabo speaks of them as legendary. It is certain at least, that they disappeared when Augustus had the forest cut down for the construction of the new fleet. Dion relates that when Agrippa caused the sacred grove to be felled, the image of the divinity that presided over the Inferno (or the statue of Calypso, according to others), commenced to perspire.

Archaeologists have been persistent in identifying the ruins of the edifice on the banks of the lake, with a temple to Proserpina (Hecate or Juno Averna) or according to some, to Mercury, Neptune, or Apollo (fig. 81). The magnificent structure however, has all the characteristics of a Roman bath, being 33 metres in diameter, of circular interior, octagonal exterior, with seven large niches, and a splendid vault. Near it, still, there are springs of mineral water.

(Fig. 82)
The formation of Monte Nuovo,
according to the idea of an old engraver.

" The view of Lucrinus, of the Baian sea, of Misenum and of the marble isle of Capri, framed in the curve of the outlet of Avernus, between the cone of Monte Nuovo and the southern bank of the lake, is one of the most beautiful in the whole region of the Phlegraean Fields. We are therefore at a loss to understand ", — observes De Lorenzo, — " how such a scene could have given rise to the image of the dismal Virgilian Avernus, unless we remember that the poet had in mind the Homeric description and the fact that throughout all antiquity Avernus was kept sacred to the cult of Persephone ".

THE GROTTO OF COCCEIUS.

In Chapter IV, I have hinted that the so-called sibyl's cave, which Petrarch described as " without a way back for the foolish, and without a way in for the wise ", was supposed to lead to the infernal regions. I further observed that Virgil certainly could not have been alluding to the tunnel of Cocceius when he stated that the sibyl used an underground path from Kyme to Lake Avernus, since this passage was built in 37 B. C., only eight years before the poet began the writing of the *Aeneid*. He himself has referred to it in his

Georgics, and his contemporaries would hardly have found the association reasonable. Agrippa gave the commission for the project to M. Cocceius Nerva, an expert in subterranean excavation works and the designer of the Grotto of Posillipo (Crypta Neapolitana). Its purpose was obviously to establish quicker communication between Kyme and Lake Avernus. Leaving the lake, it opens at a point about ten metres distant from the Arco Felice.

Before the entrance stood columns of African marble, as can be seen from the shaft of one that remains. The tunnel, vaulted by intersecting arches, runs for a distance of one and a third kilometers. For the first one hundred metres the walls are of reticulated work, after which the passage is excavated out of the tufa rock. Along its entire length extends a fine aqueduct. The small openings that admit the light to the cavern are truly remarkable; numbering six, they are cut in different shapes and at different angles. The mouth opening on Avernus is more than a metre below the level of the lake, since the lake is today that much above sea level.

The tunnel was doubtless built for strategic reasons. But in the centuries that followed, it was obstructed by the caving in of the earth, and it

lay forgotten. In the seventeenth century, the Viceroy, Conte di Ripacorsa, permitted a stupid Spaniard, one Pietro della Pace, to excavate it. He opened it in the hope of finding treasure. When the earth had been cleared away, he made a dramatic entrance, with a flambeau in one hand and his dagger in the other, and preceded by a Moorish slave bearing a lighted torch. He did in fact, recover many ancient objects there. Thus it was that the tunnel built for war, came to be called *Pace* (peace). But at that time, it could not be penetrated for more than thirty metres, and the people of the district used it to house their animals and to store their wines. Only in 1844, was it explored and brought, as we find it today, to a practicable condition.

THE DECLINE

(Fig. 83)
The castle of Baiae built for Don Pedro de Toledo
(XVIth century).

FROM THE DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE SARACEN INVASION.

For beyond five centuries the Romans came to the Phlegraean Fields to seek rest, and respite from their grave cares; and over its tranquil expanse, their mighty spirit left a vast and indelible imprint. "We have seen that the greatest and noblest figures of Roman history", — writes De Lorenzo, — "dwelt among these hills, sailed on this sea, and died in this land". From Sulla to Marius, from Brutus to Caesar, from Anthony to Augustus, and down through Nero, Tiberius and Hadrian, all the greatest dictators and warriors, emperors and rulers, brought to these shores the splendor of their

magnificence and the shadow of their iniquities. And mingling with them, yet independent from them, were those pure and lofty spirits, the philosophers and the poets, — Cicero and Seneca, Horace and Virgil, — who sought the beauty of this sky and sea and land, to embody it forever in their song and in their thought. For the Romans, in fact, it was a paradise of delight, and preferred by them to any other corner of the earth.

But, as we have already seen in the preceding chapter, Kyme had no share in this favor. No longer an actor, but a spectator, like a city that had accomplished its mission, it survived only on the memories of its former glory. And while life pulsated all around, Kyme became more desolate each day; it was with good reason that Juvenal in the third *Satire* could give it the appellation of *vacua*, "empty", or "deserted".

During the first Punic war, and the warfare provoked by the young Hamilcar Barca, the Cumaean territory suffered great losses from the Phoenician ships which ravaged the Italian coasts. From the coming of Hannibal down to Augustus, there is little of note in her history. In the struggle between Pompey the Great, and Caesar, Kyme saw the final battle. In that attack fell Maecenas, Pompey's captain. Pompey's men were entering

(Fig. 84)
Road leading to the city of Kyme. (New excavations).
(Phot. Raiola)

Kyme, and in the act, they abandoned it and turned towards Sicily, while the victorious followers of Caesar, captained by Calvisius Sabinos, occupied it without opposition.

We hear nothing more of Kyme until 536 A. D., when the city was subject to the Empire of the East. Belisarius, in fact, wishing to conquer Rome, left Herodianus in charge of Campania. In 542 A. D., Kyme fell into the power of Totila, king of the Goths. Many Roman matrons were there at the time. Totila not only respected them, but honorably sent them back to their families, an act for which he won the reputation of a wise and generous prince.

As Kyme was regarded as difficult to subdue, Totila placed his most valued possessions there and left his brother to guard them. There too, Tejas, the successor of Totila, deposited his riches. But after the battle of 552 A. D., in which the Goths were defeated and Totila was killed, Narses sent numbers of troops to take possession, not only of the treasure, but of a city so admirably fortified.

Aligernus was in charge of the fortifications, when the imperial troops with great difficulty reached the citadel and launched their attack. Aligernus had organized the defense so skillfully

that Kyme lived up to its ancient reputation, and was indeed difficult to subdue. But Narses took recourse to a stratagem. As one wall of the fortifications arose from the cave of the sibyl, Narses had the chamber excavated almost to the foundation of the wall, and then undermined it. When, at a given signal, the temporary supports were removed, the top of the citadel collapsed and fell into the great cavity, including even the gates of the city. But notwithstanding all this destruction, Kyme was not taken, and only when the Goths were defeated completely in other battle-fields (553 A. D.), did Aligernus, asking safe conduct, go to Ravenna and surrender himself and the keys of the city to Narses. The Romans then entered Kyme. But conditions there grew worse daily, through the dwindling of the population, the abandonment of agriculture, and the stagnant water, the mephitic exhalations of which altered the surrounding atmosphere. In 558 A. D., Flavius Nonius Erasto, prefect of the fleet, had the gates and the walls rebuilt.

When the Lombards were masters of the kingdom of Naples, Kyme was taken by the Pope. But in 730 A. D., Romualdus II, pretending to be a friend, occupied it. Dolefully, the Pope with prayers and with promises of gold, waited for the Lombards to give back what they had so unfairly taken from

(Fig. 85)
" Apud Cumas in arce Apollinis templum est ". Florus, I. 8.
Ruins of the Roman temple of Apollo (Spinazzola excavations).
(Phot. Raiola)

him, but seeing that all efforts were vain, he wrote to John, duke of Naples, asking him to send his army to retake the city, although it was of little worth, promising him as recompense, seventy pounds of gold. John complied, leaving Naples in the night to capture Kyme and to make prisoners of the soldiers of the Lombard garrison. The Pope sent ambassadors to congratulate the Duke and to pay the promised gold.

In 915, — the disastrous year of the Saracen incursions ~~in~~ Campania, — Kyme also fell into their hands. After sacking it, they destroyed everything they could not remove, and then, as quite an unnecessary proceeding, set fire to the few miserable remains.

The city was rebuilt, but reduced to a county, as is shown by two documents of 937 and of 1044. And far from returning to its former splendor, it remained forgotten by the mediaeval historians. In 1134, it was called *Castrum* (castle) *Cumanum* and was the possession of William of Prioldo. But in the years that followed, it became the retreat of robbers and corsairs, — for the most part, wandering Germans, — who, by land and by sea, infested the surrounding country and assaulted the wayfarers. These depredations finally caused the Neapolitans, — the same people who in the eighth

and ninth centuries had freed the city from the Lombards and the Saracens, — to raze it to the ground, which was accordingly done at the command of Geoffrey of Montefuscolo in 1207. The law of self-preservation rendered these distant descendants of the colony of Neapolis very cruel to the land of their own origin. Kyme perished, but the greatness of her tradition remained.

And imperishable, will remain the memory of that sacred and venerated land that had diffused over most of Italy, the culture of Greece and of Asia ; the teacher of the arts and letters to the peoples of Campania. No destruction can efface the glory of that classic land par excellence, where landed the first Greek colonists, to import and to produce their native industries, to introduce the craft of molding and artistically decorating the clay, and to disseminate those characters by which has been handed down to us the divine gift of the written word.

Thus was closed also, the page that Kyme had inscribed in the history of the Christian religion. From the earliest times, it was the seat of bishops, and the names of many are known to us. Rome sent the Consul Fabianus to try by every cruelty to force the Christians to renounce their worship.

(Fig. 86)
Ruins of the amphitheatre.

(Phot. Marino)

Maximus was then deacon of the Cumaean church, and he strenuously defended the faith and the name of Christ, remaining steadfast through torture and promises of reward. He was atrociously martyred and finally beheaded by the persecutor, and later given burial by eighteen soldiers who had been converted to Christianity. But as a result of the story that he had appeared in a dream to a woman, the martyr was afterwards transferred to a church which took his name. The mortal remains of another martyr were also preserved in Kyme. She was the virgin Iuliana, who was persecuted by her father and by the prefect Evitasius, whom she refused to marry. After imprisonment, she was killed by immersion in boiling oil. In 190 A. D., her body was brought to Kyme from Nicomedia by the Roman matron, Sofina.

When Kyme had been destroyed, Anselm, archbishop of Naples and Leon, and Bishop of Kyme itself, decided to transfer to Naples the bodies of the martyrs, sepultured in the Cumaean cathedral, which probably was the church built on the stereobate of the temple of Apollo. With great ceremony, the relics were borne, first to the church of Piedigrotta, then to a church near the Castel dell' Ovo, and finally, with an elaborate procession, the body of the virgin martyr was placed in a

little church called S. Giuliana (today, Donna Romita) and the body of the bishop Massimus, in the cathedral of Naples.

" On the surrounding hills, and in the very heart of Kyme " — writes De Lorenzo, " luxuriant vineyards have flourished through the centuries. Their roots are entwined among the fallen walls of broken marble and crumbling brick, with which the soil is strewn, and over the sepulchres that honeycomb the whole country. Thus it is that the works of men, and their very bones, interred and calcined, contribute to the strength of the wine that today cheers the banquets of Baiae ".

Baiae declined slowly. In the fourth century after Christ, Cassiodorus eulogized her as the height of all earthly magnificence. But in the middle of the following century, broke out the war between the Greeks and the Goths; between Belisarius and Totila. Then an overflow of Nordic races deluged the lovely land, uprooting and demolishing the traces of Roman civilization. Saracens and Lombards destroyed her as they did Misenum in 596 A. D., and the sea, forcibly held in check, again claimed its rights, covering a great part of the city, as we see from the ruins of the villas and the paved roads under the waves. While dredging in

(Fig. 87)
Statues dredged from the water at Baiae on board the vessel that transported them to Naples.

(Phot. Lembo)

1922 and 1923, to again make possible the anchorage of large vessels, many architectural fragments and many statues were brought to light. Among the latter, as I have elsewhere mentioned, were an Amazon, the head of Asklepias, an Apollo, a group of Psyche and Cupid, a Herakles, a Dionysiac bust, etc.

During the eleventh century, the air of Baiae ceased to be healthful. Under the Anjous it was twice visited by Petrarch, who went there in search of the ashes of Scipio, the hero of his poem *Africa*. In a letter to Cardinal Colonna he wrote: "I have seen the places described by Virgil, and what will interest you more, by Homer, long before him. The most ancient and wisest of the Greeks, being unable to find among the famous places the one which his argument demanded, borrowed it from Italy. I have seen the Lakes of Avernus and Lucrinus, as well as Acheron's stagnant waters; the road of Caius Caligula, once superb and now ruined by the waves, and the dike which Julius Caesar thrust into the sea. I have seen the country and the house of the sibyl, and that horrid cavern without an exit for fools, and without an entrance for the wise". The description continues, lively and exact, as though it were written yesterday.

Here, Boccaccio beguiled the hours with his Fiammetta, the natural daughter of king Robert. Baiae was then frequented by merry company. Carlos II, Johanna and Ladislaus, had a summer house there.

Under Ferdinand I of Aragon, the mineral baths continued to enjoy deserved renown. On their walls were sculptured human figures, showing the parts of the body for which the waters were salutary. The doctors of the famous Salerno School, having lost their clientele through the competition of the cures effected by the waters, went there one night armed with sticks and hammers, and after breaking the statues and destroying the inscriptions, embarked for Salerno. But upon reaching the cape of the Sorrentine penisula, their boat sank; it would almost seem, in punishment.

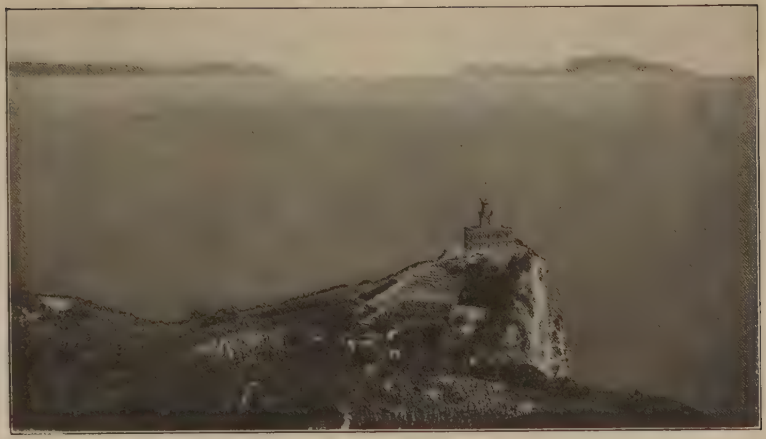
The new villas and the ruins of Baiae reëchoed at that time, with songs of love. Sannazzaro bears witness to the revived gaiety in his *Arcadia*. Pontano tells us that Baiae was extremely popular, and that there one often met these charming Neapolitan ladies, whom he pictures under the poetic names of Neera, Hermione and Batilla. He described Baiae as the ruin of youth and age alike, because of the license that reigned there.

With the invasion of Ludowick XII, king of

(Fig. 88)

" Baïas superbae blanda dona naturae ". Mart. *Epigr.* XI, 81.

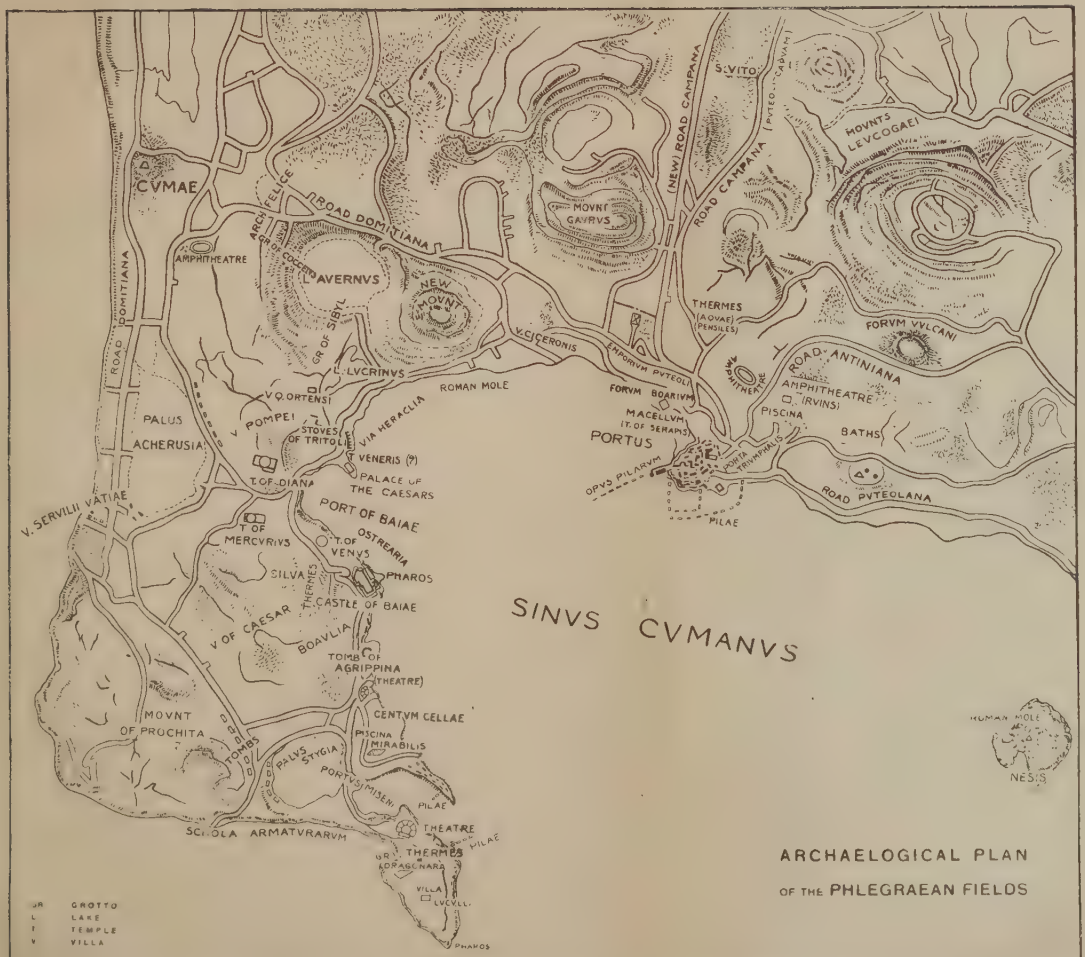
(Phot. Brogi)



(Fig. 89)
Cape Misenum with Capri and Sorrento in the distance.
(Phot. Sommer)

France, and the war that followed, Baiae was abandoned. During the fifteenth century, Don Pedro di Toledo had a high and majestic castle constructed for the defense of the port below. And during the successive centuries, it proved to be an impregnable rampart. Garibaldi found it a serious obstacle in 1860, and only through hunger were its defenders forced to yield. The subterranean recesses of the castle, with their dungeon prisons, cast a dismal shadow, but the terrace opens on a marvellous spectacle. Between the vivid blue of the sea and the vanishing horizon are framed the marble isle of Capri, the Sorrentine penisula, Vesuvius, the Campanian Apennines, the Acropolis of Kyme, and the Promontory of Misenum; while beneath, is the queenly Baiae, remembering the ardor of old loves, yet ever eager for new conquests.

THE END



ARCHAEOLOGICAL PLAN
OF THE PHLEGRAEAN FIELDS

Date Due

OCT 2 '66
JAN 29 '83

914.5 C76
Consoli Fiego, Giuseppe,
1889?-1938.
Cumae and the Phlegraean
fields